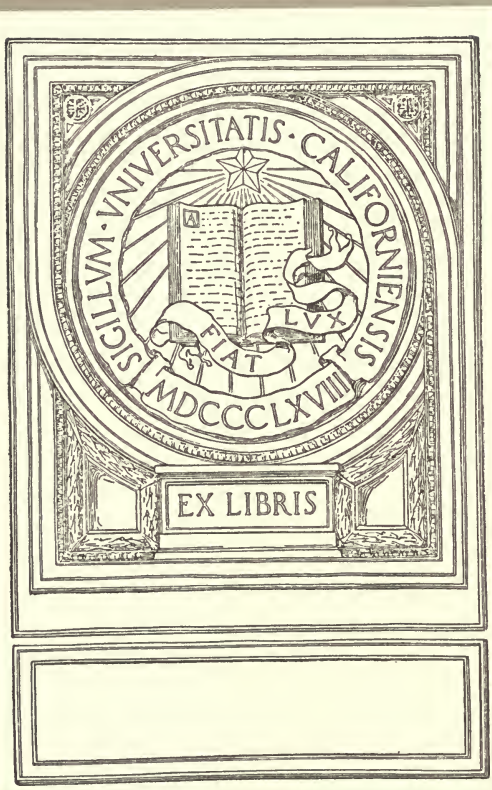
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LIFE AND MEMORIALS

OF

DANIEL WEBSTER.

FROM THE NEW-YORK DAILY TIMES

Samuel P. Lyman

TWO VOLS. IN ONE.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
346 & 348 BROADWAY,
M.DCCC.LVIII.

ENTERED according to Act of Congress, in the year 1852, by
D. APPLETON & CO.,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of
New-York.

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PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Personal Memorials which compose so large a portion of these volumes, are from the pen of Gen. S. P. Lyman, whose intimate and confidential relations with Mr. Webster afford a sufficient guarantee for their authenticity. They are believed by the publishers to embrace a more copious collection of original and interesting memoranda, concerning the life and character of the great Statesman whose recent death has created so deep a sense of bereavement throughout the country, than has hitherto been given to the world. Some of these papers appeared some years since in the Commercial Advertiser and the Courier & Enquirer; and were revised and greatly tended for the Daily Times, from which they are now reprinted under the author's supervision. The biographical sketch is from the Times, in which it

appeared on the day after Mr. Webster's decease: the miscellaneous anecdotes in the sequel, all of which are of a striking character, and well worthy of preservation, are credited to their various sources.

New-York, Dec. 1852.

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MEMORIALS OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State in the Government of the United States, died on Sunday morning, October 24th, at 3 o'clock, surrounded by his family and friends, at his home in Marshfield. He had repaired thither, from the labors and cares of his official position at Washington, in consequence of failing health some weeks before; but it was not until ten days before his decease, that his medical attendants pronounced his recovery hopeless. His last hours comported well with the calm dignity and the imposing grandeur of his character and his life. The summons of Death was heard with the same serenity, and obeyed with the same prompt submission, with which every call of Duty during his life had been answered and met. Thus has closed the most illustrious career which has yet graced the civil history of this Republic. It closed as was fitting, away from the anxieties and responsibilities of official place, in the midst of the sanctities and affections of Home. That great light, from which radiance and warmth, and all strengthening influences, have so long been shed upon his country, has disap-

peared, not by any sudden eclipse of its meridian glory, but by the natural decline from its lofty course, in the full but mellowed radiance of its advanced hours. For the instruction and guidance which we have been accustomed to find in his presence and his public acts, the country must now recur to the records of history, and to those matchless productions of his genius which he has bequeathed to the use and the care of the coming generations.

A great English dramatist, in closing a preface to the collected works of two of his cotemporaries, one of whom was his intimate friend, pronounces at once a eulogy upon their character, and an interdict upon all who should attempt to hold it up to the admiration of the world, by declaring that "he must be a bold man that *dares* undertake to write their lives." The exigencies of journalism leave little room to consult the proprieties which would deter even so consummate a genius as Shirley from writing the biographies of Beaumont and Fletcher. Fortunately, however, its aims are not so lofty as to render failure in the attempt to reach them, an offence beyond the scope of charitable consideration. And although few men of modern times take higher rank than Daniel Webster among those "worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed report or barren eulogies,"—and although he who shall give to the world an adequate and satisfactory account of that long and laborious life, which has just come to a close, will render a service to the country and the world, which even the high praise of Biography, by Lord Bacon, could not extol too much,—the ambi-

tion of the Journalist is simply to be useful in a smaller way, and to supply such general knowledge of the great deceased, as may awaken kindly recollections of what he has done, and thus meet the craving which bereavement always creates in the human heart. We shall have accomplished, therefore, all we can hope to do, in the few hours that remain for such a task, if, in sketching the life and public career of Mr. Webster, we shall be found to have brought afresh to memory, and to have commended anew to grateful study, events reflecting honor upon the country,—acts evincing profound and intelligent patriotism, and sentiments which will find an echo in every heart, duly alive to the interests of the race, and studious of the means by which its civil well-being can be best secured.

Daniel Webster was born in the town of Salisbury, New Hampshire, on the 18th of January, 1782. His age, at the period of his death, was accordingly seventy years, nine months, and six days.

The ancestral line of the Webster family extended back, in authentic records, to the early part of the seventeenth century. Thomas Webster, born in 1632, was the great-great-grandfather of Daniel. He emigrated to this country from Norfolk, England, in the year 1656, and settled at Hampton, in New Hampshire, where, soon after his arrival, he was united in marriage to Sarah Brewer, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. Ebenezer, his second son, was born in 1667, and was married to Hannah Judkins in July, 1709. Of his sons, only one had issue. This was Ebenezer, grandfather of Daniel

who was married to Susannah Batchelder in 1738, and had eight children, of whom the oldest was Ebenezer, the father of the great statesman.

Ebenezer Webster was born in Kingston, New Hampshire, on the 22d of April, 1739. The settlement was then new, and Ebenezer's father was a diligent and persevering farmer. The son, an active youth, was early chosen as one of the famous "Rangers" of Major Robert Rogers, and served with that distinguished officer, under Lord Amherst, in the French war of 1763. The Rangers were kept in the pay of the Crown during the continuance of the war. Mr. Webster was one of the party which, under the command of Major Rogers, made an expedition to Crown Point for the purpose of chastising the Indians and destroying their villages—an act which was deemed essential to the preservation of the whites. The Rangers were always on active duty, and proved most efficient allies. The history of their trials and their triumphs has never been fully told. At the conclusion of the peace, Mr. Webster, taking advantage of the moment of quiet which was afforded him, commenced a settlement, in company with several others, in a border-town on a branch of the Merrimack River. The place was first known as Bakerstown, but was afterward called Salisbury—a name that will endure as long as the history of its greatest son shall be remembered and cherished among the proudest ornaments of the country. Mr. Webster had just commenced the necessary preparations for a comfortable rural residence, when the Revolutionary struggle began. His former reputation as one of the body of

Rangers served to direct the eyes of his neighbors toward him, and his services were soon in active request as the leader in the constitution of their military bands. It is needless to say that the veteran Ranger entered, heart and soul, into that long and dubious contest. Foremost among the brave defenders of the nation, and skilful, brave and experienced, the weight of Mr. Webster's talents was speedily manifested in the consistent ardor with which the battle was maintained. Mr. Webster commanded a volunteer company of his friends and neighbors, under General Stark, in the fight at Bennington, and, during the engagement, was seen in the thickest of the fray. It had been given out by Stark, some time previous to the battle, that it was his intention to march to Stillwater, and a detachment of the British, one thousand strong, was consequently sent to intercept him. The forces of the enemy having been thus divided and weakened, the American general was enabled to cope with them in detail. Col. Warner was stationed in the rear of the American army, with a reserved corps, while Captain Webster was ordered to advance with his company of one hundred men, in search of two hundred more, who were out upon a scout. The companies once united, Captain Webster was to assume the command of the whole, and fall upon the enemy on the rear, but on no account to fire, until the action had commenced on the other side. It was on this memorable occasion that General Stark uttered the celebrated words: "Fellow-soldiers! there is the enemy: if we don't take them, Molly Stark will be a widow to-night!" Captain

Webster having fulfilled the duty assigned him in collecting together the three hundred men, awaited his share in the honors of the day. When allowed to make his charge upon the enemy, with pieces loaded, and with firm and equal step, his men advanced upon the opposing breastworks. Captain Webster was the first to leap the defences, but the reinforcements were not sufficient to render the attack successful, and his command was driven back. Meantime, the British were strengthened by the arrival of one thousand fresh troops upon the field, and a new disposition of the battle became necessary. General Stark placed Captain Webster and Captain Gregg on the left wing of the American force, Colonel Nichols on the right, and placed the army in a strong position. The result of that struggle is a matter of history, and a large proportion of its fame is due to the efforts of Ebenezer Webster. At the battle of White Plains, Mr. Webster was also present, and performed effective service. At the end of the war, he again retired to private life, and sought to end his days peacefully and with honor, as an humble cultivator of the soil. This, however, was denied him. The people whom he had served had stronger claims upon him. He was, for several years, elected a Representative from Salisbury to the Legislature of New Hampshire, and in the years 1785–6–8 and '90 filled the office of State Senator. In 1785 he was appointed Colonel of the Militia. In 1791 he was chosen as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, for the county of Hillsborough, which office he held until 1805. On the 22d of April of the follow-

ing year (1806), Col. Webster died upon his farm, at the age of 67. His wife, Abigail, survived him ten years, and died on the 14th of April, 1816, aged 76 years.

Col. Webster was twice married. His second wife, Abigail Eastman, the mother of Daniel and Ezekiel, was a lady of Welsh descent, and a resident of Salisbury at the time of her marriage.

Daniel Webster was born under the influence of true New England institutions. A harsh and rugged country, cold blasts and meagre natural advantages, formed no pleasant introductions to the world. The hills and forests of the Granite State offered few inducements, years ago, for the development of intellectual versatility and strength. It was the aim of her people to impart to their children the soundest principles of morality and common sense. Few indulgences were allowed them, and the sacredness of parental control was strictly guarded. In the midst of such a public sentiment was Daniel Webster reared. He enjoyed what is termed a good New England education, receiving the fullest advantages of the school system of that day—not, as now, brought home to every door, but occasional and migratory in its nature.

While still young, Daniel was daily sent two miles and a half to school, in the middle of winter, and on foot. He walked the entire distance there and back. If the school chanced to remove still further from his father's house, board was engaged in some convenient family for the youthful student, and his acquisitions of knowledge were pursued without interruption. An

ardent desire for learning was early manifest in the mind of Daniel Webster. Difficulties were presented, with which he was compelled to struggle; hindrances stood in the way, which he was obliged to overcome. But every obstacle was surmounted, and the scholar came forth a man. His father was deeply impressed with the necessity of education, and spared no pains to give Daniel a thorough insight into the mysteries of knowledge. Among the few volumes contained in the circulating library of that day, the young Daniel found a special fascination in a copy of the "Spectator"—particularly in the criticisms upon "Chevy Chase." Before he was fourteen years old, he could repeat the whole of the "Essay on Man." The muse possessed great attractions for his fancy, and devotional hymns were frequently added to the list of his juvenile accomplishments. Among the pieces committed to memory, as a pastime merely, was the entire volume of that ancient collection of church melodies known as "Watts's Psalms and Hymns."

In his fourteenth year, Daniel was placed in Phillips' Academy at Exeter, N. H., at that time under the care of Dr. Benjamin Abbot. This event, his first separation from home and friends, took place on the 25th April, 1796. Daniel was now one among ninety boys, all of whom were perfect strangers. Reconciling himself, however, to the necessities of the case, Daniel soon became naturalized among his new associates, and made rapid progress in the customary routine of academical studies. Public declamation, curiously enough, was his aversion, and the thought of it a bugbear. The future orator withdrew from

observation, and sought to conceal himself behind his fellows. Remaining but a few months at the academy, Daniel, in February, 1797, was placed under the tuition of Rev. Samuel Woods, at Boscawen. The prospect of a collegiate education was at this time first opened to him by his father. Incited by the indications of this preferment, colleges being then exclusive, and not in every case attainable, the young man profited by the opportunities that were offered him. With Mr. Woods he read Virgil and Cicero, and became a fair Latin scholar. His favorite classic at this time was Cicero, and the strength of early impressions was never abated—the immortal Orator was always the favorite study of the American Sage.

In the summer of 1797, Daniel entered Dartmouth College as a Freshman. The regular duties of a student were performed by him with faithfulness and energy. He lost no time in idle dissipations, became noted for a constant avidity for reading, and devoted much attention to the acquisition of a knowledge of English literature. Among his college pastimes he superintended the publication of a small weekly newspaper, to which he contributed various selections, and occasionally an original essay. These early efforts in composition are probably the first of his writings that were ever published. Graduating with the approbation of his fellows, and in receipt of the honorable testimonials of merit, though not displaying any remarkable powers which would seem to indicate his future greatness, Daniel returned home, determined to adopt the profession of the law for a livelihood.

A course of legal reading was begun under the eye of Mr. Thompson, a gentleman well known to the family of Mr. Webster, and afterward United States Senator. Daniel's studies were not, however, suffered to be prolonged without interruption. Anxious that his brother Ezekiel should possess advantages for education similar to those enjoyed by himself, Daniel interceded with his father with such success that the brother, in 1801, was sent to college. To meet the additional expenses which this circumstance involved, Daniel temporarily forsook the law and commenced teaching school, as much to advance his brother as to cover the necessary expenditures in the prosecution of his own profession. The pedagogue was first made manifest in the town of Fryeburg, in Maine, where Daniel taught the town Academy, at the meagre stipend of $350. Of this amount, he contrived to save the whole, having obtained the post of Assistant to the Register of Deeds of the County, by which he met the ordinary outlays of his position. In Fryeburg, Mr. Webster found another circulating library, in which was contained a set of Blackstone's Commentaries, the legal food of the young student during his stay in that place.

In September, 1802, Daniel returned to Salisbury, and resumed the study of the law with Mr. Thompson. When not so engaged, his time was occupied with the Latin Classics. He read with avidity the tomes of Sallust, Cæsar and Horace. Some odes of the latter were translated by him and published. The sports of angling, gunning and horsemanship constituted his pastimes. The meditative pursuit of old

Izaak was always a favorite amusement of the great statesman. With fishing-rod and line he would wait for hours beside some tranquil stream, watching the play of the suspicious tribe, and moralizing, like his piscatorian model, upon the ways and doings of fishes and of men. Indeed, it is sportively said by his friends, that, as the future orator one day drew in a large and most tempting trout, he uttered the words which he afterwards employed on the Bunker-Hill Address: "Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives that you might behold this joyous day." The tale is probably a jest; but the words are immortal. In this way, Mr. Webster was ever in the habit of planning speeches and pursuing some other avocation at one and the same moment.

In July, 1804, Daniel removed to Boston, where his course of law-reading went forward under the eye of Hon. Christopher Gore, afterward Governor of Massachusetts. The most ample opportunities were here enjoyed for a complete legal education, and Daniel so far improved them that in the following year (March, 1805), he was admitted to practise in the Suffolk Court of Common Pleas. According to the custom of those days, the pupil was accompanied into Court by his patron. To the kind exertions of Governor Gore in his behalf, on this occasion, Mr. Webster acknowledged his great indebtedness. The introduction insured him respect and attention, and he was not long in stepping into a lucrative professional business. It is worthy of remark, as an evi-

dence of the superior discernment of his legal guardian, that, in the introductory address, Governor Gore took the pains to utter a prophecy of the future celebrity of the young aspirant. Mr. Webster began practice in the village of Boscawen, whence he removed to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1807.

About this time an event occurred which was nearly a crisis in the young man's history. The clerkship of the County Court of Common Pleas in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, became vacant, and Judge Webster being at the time upon the bench, his colleagues tendered the vacant post to Daniel, as a mark of respect to his father. Daniel was not at all in favor of the proposition. His friend, Governor Gore, strongly discouraged his acceptance of the office. "Once a clerk, always a clerk," was the argument of that gentleman. Daniel, too, saw reasons why he should not accept. But he knew his father's heart was bent upon it, and, fearing to refuse, he started homeward. In conversation with his father, he finally expressed his determination to decline. Judge Webster was for a moment incensed. Daniel replied that "he meant to use his tongue in the courts, not the pen; to be an actor, not the register of other men's actions." His father answered him with pride, "His mother," he observed, "had always said that Daniel would come to something or nothing, she was not sure which; he thought the doubt was about to be settled." So the clerkship went its ways, and Daniel reconciled to his father, and satisfied with his own course, went back to his practice. Judge Webster lived but a year afterward, but his life was long

enough to enable him to hear his son's first argument, and to be gratified at the fulfilment of the promising predictions that had been circulated regarding him. He died in April, 1806.

In May, 1807, Daniel, whom we shall now designate by the more dignified appellation of Mr. Webster, was admitted to practice as attorney and counsellor of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and in September of the same year relinquished his office to his brother Ezekiel, who had then obtained admission to the Bar. Daniel then removed to Portsmouth. It may here be proper to say, that Mr. Webster always espoused with warmth the cause of Ezekiel, his only brother. A man of strong, native powers, though slow to action, Ezekiel only lacked opportunity and a longer life to have become a distinguished personage. He died in the prime of life, while arguing a cause in Concord, New Hampshire, and was lamented by a large class of friends and mourning relatives.

Daniel Webster was married in June, 1808, to Grace Fletcher, daughter of Rev. Mr. Fletcher, of Hopkinton, New Hampshire. They had four children—Grace, Fletcher, Julia, and Edward—of whom only Fletcher now survives. Grace died early; Edward was killed in the Mexican War; Julia married one of the Appletons, of Boston, and died a few years since.

Mr. Webster resided in Portsmouth for a period of nine years. The Bar of that time presented a roll of brilliant names. Samuel Dexter and Joseph Story, of Massachusetts, William K. Atkinson, Attorney-

General of New Hampshire, Judge Jeremiah Smith, Jeremiah Mason, and men of like calibre, were the leading practitioners of the law. With them was sustained a pleasant and profitable intercourse, and the friendship which they extended to Mr. Webster was no small assistance to the efforts of the new aspirant for legal honors. Mr. Webster's practice here was chiefly circuit. He followed the Superior Court into many of the Counties of the State, and was retained in most of the important causes upon the docket. Office he never held in New Hampshire, and his private professional practice was not remarkably lucrative. It has been remarked, as a circumstance somewhat singular, that in very few cases was Mr. Webster employed as junior counsel. Scarcely a dozen instances of this kind occurred during his long career. Men had occasion for his services as their leading counsel, and reposed in him the utmost confidence—a reliance which was never misplaced or regretted, and to which many will now turn with a grateful recollection of the value of his aid.

Soon after the Declaration of War against England, Mr. Webster was called to enter the arena of public life. Though but thirty years of age, an early period to take part in the Councils of a Nation—the native strength of Mr. Webster's character had already pointed him out as the man that was needed for the times; and the undeveloped Statesman made his first step in that long career of public life which has identified his name, as Representative, Senator, Diplomatist, and Cabinet Minister, with the history of the United States.

MR. WEBSTER IN CONGRESS.

The political contest which resulted in the election of Mr. Webster to the House of Representatives, was long and spirited. A vehement opposition was started against the party which he represented, and although his ultimate triumph was gratifying in the extreme, the struggle was severe. Mr. Webster finally received a very handsome majority over his opponent, and took his seat at the Extra Session of the Thirteenth Congress, in May, 1813. The time at which he entered Congress was one of great excitement. The question of the prosecution of the War was warmly agitated, and raised divisions of party opinion, that threatened serious difficulties. The wisdom of retorting by severe retaliatory measures, against the arbitrary acts of Great Britain, respecting American shipping, was doubted by many members of that Congress. The conviction of the necessity of the conflict was not general throughout the country. Men objected that the War had been begun by a faction, that it was non-essential in principle, and that it needed not to be prosecuted with any extraordinary degree of ardor. Into the midst of this caldron of differing opinions, Mr. Webster was thrown by his constituents. He was equal to the emergency in which he found himself plunged. That Congress comprised men of surpassing talent. Of the House, Henry Clay was Speaker. Among the members were Calhoun, Forsyth, Grundy, Gaston, Pickering. Intellect and learning shed a lustre over

the Lower House, which it has rarely witnessed since. Mr. Webster made his appearance punctually at the commencement of the Session, and was immediately placed by Mr. Clay upon the Committee of Foreign Affairs, a position of honor and responsibility.

Mr. Webster delivered his maiden speech in the House on Thursday, 10th June, 1813. It took Congress by surprise. A young man, appearing for the first time in public life, and previously unknown in political circles, had made a sudden and indelible impression upon older and more experienced men. The result has proved that the early promise was not fallacious. Intellect sharpened and strengthened by continual exercise, especially in courts of law, and under the excitement of vehement opposition, is pretty sure to receive a rapid and healthy development. Mr. Webster founded his speech upon certain resolutions which he introduced in relation to the Berlin and Milan Decrees, requesting the President "to inform the House when, by whom, and in what manner, the first intelligence was given to this Government of the decree of the Government of France, bearing date the 28th of April, 1811, and purporting to be a definitive repeal of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan." The resolutions were supported by Mr. Webster, in a speech of masterly power and vigor, producing facts and arguments, which could do no less than rivet the attention of the House. The object of Mr. Webster was merely to obtain information, which was freely communicated by President Madison. The action of Napoleon in regard to the maritime questions of the day was productive of such

measure of retaliation from England, that great danger was experienced by the neutral powers which had vessels upon the ocean. Great Britain then insisting upon her right of search in vessels belonging to the United States, the pent-up passions found vent, and the mother country and her daughter were again embroiled in war. Mr. Webster entered Congress, not at the commencement of this second struggle, but in the heat of its progress. War was raging when he took his seat. The minutiæ of the preparations for its continuance, were allotted to him as one of the National Council. Although opposed to the policy which had been adopted, he offered no very serious opposition to the prosecution of the war, and contented himself with seeking to guide the strong current into channels which appeared safest and most expedient. He had always believed that the most efficient method of crippling the power of England, was to attack her upon the sea, and hence, at an early period, he advocated the improvement of the Navy. Before the commencement of the War, or his entrance into Congress, he had written several powerful arguments favoring an increase of our naval force, and one of his earliest speeches in the House was intended to accomplish the same purpose. Other topics of national interest and importance also occupied his attention while he continued a member of the House. On the repeal of the Embargo, and on an appeal from the Chair on a motion for the previous question, he spoke strongly and with effect. His standing as an orator was speedily attained. It never degenerated into a secondary quality, and the part assumed by him in

his earliest public efforts was such as few men so young have sustained. Of the speeches of Mr. Webster on the Embargo and on the appeal, Mr. Everett holds the following language: "His speeches on these questions raised him to the front rank of debaters. He manifested upon his entrance into public life, that variety of knowledge, familiarity with the history and traditions of the Government, and self-possession on the floor, which in most cases are acquired by time and long experience. They gained for him the reputation indicated by the well-known remark of Mr. Lowndes, that 'the North had not his equal, nor the South his superior.'"

Mr. Webster was re-elected to the House of Representatives in August, 1814. His constituents, pleased that New Hampshire could send so creditable a representative, and justly proud of the honorable position attained in so brief a period by Mr. Webster, again gave him the preference, and he received, for the second time, a handsome majority. When he again entered upon the discharge of his public duties, Mr. Webster found himself in a new position. The Peace was declared in December, 1814, and Congress had time to give its attention to the internal affairs of the country. The debates no longer turned upon the budget of War. The commercial class and the mass of the people were now to receive attention, and their wants were to be canvassed and supplied. Government found it convenient to propose the establishment of a National Bank, and a bill for that purpose was introduced into the House, on the recommendation of Mr. Dallas, then Secretary of the Treasury. The

elicited a splendid display of forensic ability from arose. It required the reservation of a Bank capital of fifty millions of dollars; of which only five millions were to be in specie, and the remainder in the depreciated Government securities; with an obligation to lend thirty millions for the use of the Treasury. With these provisions, the bill had passed the Senate, and was sent to the House. It was warmly discussed. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Webster were among its opponents. Mr. Webster deemed the project useless and pernicious. He denounced it as a mere paper-money contrivance, which was calculated to injure the People, to increase the financial embarrassments of the Government, and to bring discredit upon the Country. The bill, as originally reported, was finally negatived. A reconsideration was then moved, and the bill was amended in several important particulars. A specie-paying Bank was planned, and received the support of Mr. Webster and those who had opposed so strenuously the original draft. In its improved shape the bill passed, and was sent to the President for approval, but Mr. Madison returned it to the House with his objections, and the subject went over for that session.

The adjourument of Congress left Mr. Webster at liberty to resume his professional occupations, and enabled him to pay that degree of attention to his personal affairs of which they had stood in need during his long absence from home. In the month of January, 1814, he had sustained a heavy loss in the destruction of his house at Portsmouth by the great fire which visited that place. Not remarkably rich in the goods of this world at that period, Mr. Webster's finances

bill contained provisions to which great opposition suffered a serious blow by this disaster, and he began to agitate the question of removing his family either to Albany or Boston. This removal was effected in August, 1816. Mr. Webster was well known in Boston as a citizen and a professional man. He was certain of a warm welcome among old friends, and saw many reasons why he should return to the field in which he first stepped forward. His practice in the Courts of New Hampshire was never resumed, excepting in the celebrated case of Dartmouth College, tried in September, 1817. This cause involved Constitutional questions, and engaged the attention of Mr. Webster for a considerable period. The Legislature of New Hampshire had passed certain acts purporting to enlarge and improve the Corporation of the College and to amend its Charter. The trial was to test the question whether such acts could be binding upon the Corporation, without its consent. Mr. Webster espousing the cause of the Corporation, argued with his usual ability upon the unconstitutionality of the action of the Legislature. Upon an adverse opinion of the New Hampshire Court being rendered, a writ of error was sued out by the Corporation, and the cause was removed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The argument took place, before all the Judges, in March 1818; Mr. Webster and Mr. Hopkinson appearing for the plaintiffs in error, and Mr. Holmes and the Attorney-General of New Hampshire in opposition. The question involved in the case was new to American Jurisprudence, and

the opposing counsel. The argument of Mr. Webster served to place the matter in its true light, and Judge Story at last coincided with his colleagues in declaring the acts of the Legislature invalid, and reversing the decision of the Superior Court of New-Hampshire.

When Mr. Webster removed to Boston, he had one session to serve in Congress as Representative from New-Hampshire. The proceedings of that session were unimportant. At its close, he retired to his practice in Boston, where for two years he was permitted to repose, in the exercise of the duties of private life. He was not, however, allowed any longer respite. He was soon urged by friends and political admirers to become a candidate for Congress for the third time; but he steadfastly declined the offer. An offer of election to the Senate of the United States was tendered him by his friends in the Legislature; but this was also declined. Devoted to his profession, he had no wish to draw himself from it. Earning a competency by his legal attainments, he desired no honors other than those which attached to a good citizen and an honest man. The community insisted more strongly upon pressing him again into the public service. He served for a short time in the Legislature, was chosen one of the Presidential Electors of Massachusetts in the canvass which resulted in the re-election of Mr. Monroe, and was a delegate to the Convention called to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth in 1821. In that Convention, Mr. Webster took a prominent part,—constitutional argument having become his forte. His

principal arguments were devoted to the subjects of oaths of office, the division of the State into Senatorial Districts, and the appointment of Judicial officers by the Executive.

In the Fall of 1822, after the most pressing solicitation, Mr. Webster yielded his consent to run again for Congress. A committee, consisting of Col. Thomas H. Perkins, Wm. Sturgis, Wm. Sullivan, John T. Apthorp, and Daniel Messenger, called upon him to apprise him of his nomination. He did not now decline. He was elected by one thousand majority over his competitor, Jesse Putnam, and again took his seat in the House, not as a Member from a rural district in New-Hampshire,—but a Representative from the City of Boston. Henry Clay was again Speaker. Familiar faces greeted the vision of the Massachusetts Representative, and earnest discussions presently gave active employment to Mr. Webster's busy mind.

Early in the session, the subject of the Revolution in Greece came before the House. Mr. Webster on the 8th of December, 1823, presented the following resolution: "That provision ought to be made by law, for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an Agent or Commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment."

In his famous speech in support of this resolution, Mr. Webster showed himself a profound and discriminating judge of the laws that govern the relations of nations and communities. In sympathy for the oppressed and struggling Greeks, he was not surpassed

by any of the men of his time. He evinced a ready appreciation of the evils with which they struggled, and uttered a trumpet-toned and indignant remonstrance against the tyranny which sought their degradation. The "Greek speech" will be remembered as long as American Oratory has a place among the records of History.

It is interesting to notice that the principles which were avowed on this occasion, were subsequently re-affirmed by Mr. Webster in language still more striking, applied to the affairs of Hungary. On the occasion of the Congressional Banquet to Kossuth in January last, Mr. Webster declared that "in the sentiments avowed by him in the years 1823 and 1824, in the cause of Greece, *there was that which he could never part from without departing from himself.*" Those sentiments were most fearlessly put forth. On the 19th January, 1823, Mr. Webster made a long and eloquent argument, covering the whole question. Reviewing the circumstances which accompanied the struggles of the Greeks, and passing some severe strictures upon the policy observed by the states of Europe towards that unhappy country, Mr. Webster proceeded to a statement of the effects and consequences of the actions of European potentates in regard to free governments and the spread of republican institutions. The limits of this sketch permit no detailed analysis of the line of argument laid down by Mr. Webster, in this celebrated speech, nor is it necessary. The leading idea was the defence of free institutions against absolutism; an argument in favor of constitutional rights against

the encroachments of despotism. In regarding the position proper to be assumed by this country, in reference to the Greek struggle, Mr. Webster gave utterance to one of the finest passages which the language has produced. He sought to discourage any violent and belligerent measures, and fell back upon the power of public opinion. In arguing this point, he said:

"Sir, this reasoning mistakes the age. The time has been, indeed, when fleets, and armies, and subsidies were the principal reliances, even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, there has arrived a great change in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced; and *the public opinion* of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendency over mere brutal force. It may be silenced by military power, but it cannot be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. It is that impassable, inextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule, which, like Milton's angels,

'Vital in every part,
Cannot, but by annihilating, die.'

Unless this be propitiated or satisfied, it is in vain for power to talk either of triumphs or repose. No matter what fields are desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun, there is an enemy that still exists to check the glory of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovations; it

calls upon him to take notice that the world, though silent, is yet indignant; it shows him that the sceptre of his victory is a barren sceptre; that it shall confer neither joy nor honor, but shall moulder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation, it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice; it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with the sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind."

In the course of this speech, Mr. Webster adverted, in terms of reprobation, to the Treaty of Paris, of 1815, by which the principles that bound together the "Holy Alliance" were asserted and maintained. He expressed his abhorrence of the doctrines thus sought to be enforced by European despotisms, and remarked: "Human liberty may yet, perhaps, be obliged to repose its principal hopes on the intelligence and the vigor of the Saxon race. So far as depends on us, at least, I trust those hopes will not be disappointed."

Mr. Webster also took an active part in the discussions upon the Tariff in 1824. In common with the remainder of the Massachusetts delegation, he opposed that instrument on grounds of expediency, but the bill was passed and became a law.

In the Fall of 1824, Mr. Webster was reëlected to Congress, by the almost unanimous vote of 4,990 out of 5000. This remarkable indication of the public favor was as unexpected as well-merited and gratifying. Mr. Webster was now fairly settled in a

public career, and he was thenceforward but rarely absent from stations of trust and confidence.

The Presidential contest in which John Quincy Adams was finally successful, now agitated the country. Mr. Clay accepted the post of Secretary of State. The principal topic of this Administration was the Panama Mission, a subject of dispute, which created a great sensation, and elicited many warm debates in Congress. Mr. Webster had supported with earnestness, the noted Declaration of President Monroe,—that any combinations of European powers to promote certain objects in America would be considered as directly affecting the Nation,—and, in accordance with the position he had assumed, gave a cordial support to the proposed Mission to Panama, for the settlement of existing difficulties. He made an able speech on this subject in the House, in April, 1826. The general unpopularity of the measure in contemplation, however, caused it to fail.

On the 22d December, 1820, at the second Centennial Celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Mr. Webster delivered the grand Oration which is now in the mouth of every schoolboy. Five years afterward, in 1825, he spoke at Bunker Hill, at the semi-centennial Celebration of the glorious Battle which had there been fought. In a few months he was called to commemorate the services of Adams and Jefferson, whose deaths occurred under circumstances of such curious coincidence. On the 22d February, 1832, upon the completion of a century from the birth of Washington, Mr. Webster was called upon to deliver an Address at the National

Capital, and enchained the attention of his audience, by a fascinating delineation of the virtues of the Father of his Country.

In November, 1826, Mr. Webster was again solicited to represent his District in the House, for the third time, but before he had taken his seat, a vacancy occurring in the Senate by the retirement of the venerable Elijah H. Mills, Mr. Webster was chosen to fill that post.

Toward the close of the year 1827, a heavy domestic affliction was visited upon Mr. Webster, in the loss of his wife. They were on the way to Washington when Mrs. Webster was taken ill, and soon died. This melancholy event prevented Mr. Webster from taking his seat in the Senate until January, 1828.

In the Senatorial career of Mr. Webster, so many elements of power and popularity have passed into record, that it is difficult to embrace, in a simple sketch, all the peculiar features of the great movements in which he took part. Mr. Calhoun, as Vice-President, occupied the chair of the Senate. Messrs. Forsyth, Benton, Van Buren, Woodbury, Tazewell, Clayton and Hayne, were among the Senators. Mr. Webster's first parliamentary encounter, upon his entrance into the Senate, took place with Mr. Tazewell, of Virginia. The subject in dispute was the Process Bill, contrived for the regulation of the proceedings of the United States Courts, and the details of the controversy had little public interest. Mr. Webster afterward made strong and praiseworthy exertions in aid of the measures of relief to the surviving officers of the Revolution. In regard to the Tariff, upon which the

controversy of past days was renewed, Mr. Webster deemed it his duty to vote for the amended bill introduced into the Senate. In the course of his remarks upon certain objections which he had urged against the measure, and for which he sought an improvement, he defended New-England from the injurious reports that had been circulated against her, and established anew the credit of that large and industrious section of the country. Though disapproving of some of the provisions contained in the amended bill, he yet believed it an improvement in certain particulars, and gave it his affirmative vote—a course which he deemed it but just to explain to his constituents upon his return home. In a speech at Faneuil Hall he made particular allusion to the circumstances of that vote, and received the approval of the people of the Commonwealth.

DEBATE WITH HAYNE.

The next event in Mr. Webster's life was one which won imperishable laurels for himself, and cast lustre upon the councils of his country. It was the part he took in the great controversy in the Senate between the North and South—between the national views of the Constitution which Mr. Webster had often vindicated, and the doctrines of State Rights, which had been for years so ably enforced by Mr. Calhoun, and had reached a position of commanding influence.

Gen. Jackson had been elected to the Presidency in the Fall of 1828, by an overwhelming popular majority, against John Quincy Adams, whose adminis-

tration, although marked by signal ability, and a purity seldom paralleled in the recent history of our Government, had failed to fasten itself upon the popular sympathy. Mr. Adams was a man of sharp intellect, multifarious knowledge, large experience in public affairs, and of cold, calm courage, but without a spark of enthusiasm in his nature, or any of those qualities which command the attachment and secure the support of great masses of men. Gen. Jackson, on the contrary, lacking all the faculties which his opponent had, possessed all those which he lacked. A man of clear perceptions, prompt and generous impulses—unflinching as a friend and relentless as a foe—daring in action, and of unconquerable will, and conspicuous in the eyes of the whole country for his victory at New Orleans in the war of 1812, he had come into power by a larger majority than had ever before been given to any candidate. And among his friends were those who had before been distinguished for devotion to Mr. Calhoun, and the friends of Mr. Crawford. Mr. Calhoun was chosen Vice-President at the same election. Thus, though overwhelmingly strong, the Democratic party was really composed of discordant materials—being divided especially upon the fundamental principles upon which our government rests—Mr. Calhoun and his friends, insisting upon a strict construction of the Constitution, and the most rigid limitation of the powers of the General Government under it, and the other section inheriting by legitimate descent the more liberal and national doctrines of Madison and Monroe, and being friendly to the protection of American industry, and

the prosecution of works of internal improvement. Both these parties were, however, at this time, united in cordial support of Gen. Jackson, and in an equally cordial hostility to the leaders of the party against which he had been elected, and among these leaders Mr. Webster, of course, stood pre-eminent.

The first session of the Twenty-first Congress opened in December, 1829, Mr. Calhoun presiding in the Senate. Prominent among the topics to which political attention was directed, was that of the public lands. Both parties, and especially both sections of the country, the North and the South, were anxious to secure the political alliance of the Western States; and although the measures of each were doubtless dictated mainly by a sincere regard for the public good, it is not uncharitable to suppose that political purposes had more or less influence with both. Little, however, had been said upon the subject until Mr. Foote of Connecticut, on the 29th of December, introduced the following apparently innocent resolution of inquiry:—

Resolved—That the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to inquire and report the quantity of public lands remaining unsold within each State and Territory, and whether it be expedient to limit for a certain period the sales of public lands, to such lands as have heretofore been offered for sale, and are now subject to entry at the *minimum* price. And also, whether the office of Surveyor General, and some of the landed offices, may not be abolished, without detriment to the public service.

It has been alleged that this resolution was in

reality the signal and starting point of a predetermined crusade, on the part of General Jackson's friends, against New England, and especially Mr. Webster, as its most conspicuous and formidable representative. At the time, however, no such purpose was suspected; and it is only by reverting to the concurrent features of the case that subsequent examination has brought circumstantial evidence in support of the charge. Mr. Webster, it is certain, was just at that time made the shining mark for the combined attacks of the party in power. The party press throughout the country sought to evince its devotion to Gen. Jackson by assault upon Mr. Webster. The leading friends of the President and Vice-President, in both Houses of Congress and throughout the country, aimed their most powerful blows at his head, with an energy and determination which might well suggest the suspicion of a preconcerted purpose. It seems more likely, however, that this was simply the result of the position of parties and of their prominent men. The Presidential contest had been marked by great warmth and bitterness, and this zeal had not been in the least diminished by the complete success by which it had been crowned. The dominant party, on the contrary, seemed the more resolute in its purpose of destroying and annihilating all opposition—and as New England was the citadel of that hostility, and Mr. Webster the solitary but formidable champion who defended its gates, and hurled the crushing missiles of war from its unconquered towers, it was natural, and indeed inevitable, that their main assault should be turned against him, and the section which he represented. The day after

Mr. Foote offered his resolution, on calling it up for consideration, he said he had presented it from having seen a statement in the last report of the Commissioners of the Land Office, that the quantity of land remaining unsold at the minimum price of one dollar and a quarter per acre, exceeded seventy-two millions of acres—while the annual demand was not likely greatly to exceed one million acres—and he was desirous of further official information upon the subject.

Senator Benton, of Missouri,—then, as now, wide awake and keenly suspicious of designs upon himself and the West, whenever any Western topic was touched in debate,—scented the battle afar off, in this formal and ostensibly harmless resolution. He stigmatized it at once as a resolution of inquiry into the expediency of committing a serious injury upon the new States of the West. Mr. Foote earnestly disclaimed any such purpose, and several other Senators vindicated the resolution from any such construction. After a brief and colloquial controversy, not wholly void of feeling, upon this point, a motion was carried postponing the further consideration of the subject until Monday, the 11th of January, for which day it was made the special order. When that day arrived it was again postponed until the 13th; and then, after several Western gentlemen had spoken briefly upon it, it was laid over until Monday, the 18th. On that day, and evidently after much preparation, and an evident nursing of his political wrath, Mr. Benton took the floor against the resolution. His speech was the development of the idea he had put forth at the outset,—that the resolution was aimed at the

West; and he proceeded to show that the attack came from New England, and that it was really directed against *him*. "The resolution," said he, "was introduced to check-mate my graduation bill! It was an offer of battle to the West! I accepted the offer; I am fighting the battle; some are crying out and hauling off; but I am standing to it, and mean to stand to it. I call upon the adversary to come on and lay on; and I tell him,

'Damn'd be he that first cries hold,—enough!'"

Col. Benton proceeded to a studied attack upon New England,—to a denunciation of her policy towards the West as illiberal and unjust,—and to the declaration that the West would thereafter look *to the South* for succor. This was the key-note of the debate that followed. The real merits of the question rapidly gave way to a discussion of the relative position of different sections of the country towards it. The next day Mr. Holmes, of Maine, replied at length to Mr. Benton. Other Senators also participated in the discussion, and finally Col. Hayne, of South Carolina, commenced a speech which consumed the rest of the day.

Hayne was one of the younger Senators,—of undoubted ability and over-confident courage. He had filled with *éclat* successive offices of trust and responsibility in his native State, and brought to the Senate in 1823 a brilliant and growing reputation. His characteristics have been well set forth by Mr. March in his "Reminiscences of Congress." "Hayne," he says, "dashed into debate like the Mameluke cavalry

upon a charge. There was a gallant air about him, that could not but win admiration. He never provided for retreat: he never imagined it. He had an invincible confidence in himself, which arose partly from constitutional temperament, partly from previous success. His was the Napoleonic warfare: to strike at once for the Capitol of the enemy, heedless of danger or loss to his own forces. Not doubting to overcome all odds, he feared none, however seemingly superior. Of great fluency and no little force of expression, his speech never halted, and seldom fatigued. His oratory was graceful and persuasive. An impassioned manner, somewhat vehement at times, but rarely, if ever extravagant: a voice well modulated and clear: a distinct, though rapid enunciation: a confident, but not often offensive address: these, accompanying and illustrating language well selected and periods well turned, made him a popular and effective speaker." In his speech at this stage of the debate, Col. Hayne took occasion to respond to Col. Benton, by assuring him that the West might always count upon the sympathies of the South, and by echoing and strengthening the assaults he had made upon the character and condition of New England. He alleged that the East was not willing that the public lands should be thrown open on easy terms to settlers for fear of being drained of its population. The Eastern States, he said, had always sought to retain their population at home—"to create a manufactory of paupers, who should supply the manufactories of rich proprietors, and enable them to amass great wealth." He followed up this attack upon the policy

of New England with great bitterness,—characterizing her course on the public lands especially, as selfish and unprincipled. Neither Mr. Webster nor his friends could help feeling sensitive under such assaults, and point was given to their resentment by the belief that they were mainly directed against Mr. Webster personally, and were intended as much to crush him as to promote the welfare of the West. At the previous session, Col. Hayne had made a sharp attack upon his opinions and conduct, to which, however, he had forborne to make any reply. But upon this occasion, he felt called on to respond; and on the next day, therefore, he spoke at some length in reply,—confining himself clearly to the topic under discussion, and referring only incidentally to the temper in which the debate had been conducted on the part of his opponents. His speech was little more, indeed, than a very clear and well-digested historical statement of the actual steps taken by the General Government in regard to the public lands, and of the part which New England had borne in that action. He depicted with graphic power the wonderful changes which had taken place in the Western States,—their rapid and marvellous increase of population, and the almost magic transformation of their unbroken forests into the abodes of civilization and comfort. And in regard to the measures of the General Government by which this change had been wrought, he "undertook to say," in general terms—sustaining this statement, however, by reference to the records of Congress—that "if you look to the votes on any one of these measures, and strike out from the list of ayes

the names of New England members, it will be found that in *every case* the South would then have *voted down* the West, and the measure would have failed." This sweeping declaration, made with exactness and emphasis, was a direct acceptance of the issue made, between the North and South, in regard to the respective conduct of each section towards the West. He closed by apologizing for thus alluding to local opinions and contrasting different portions of the country—a course which, he said, had been forced upon him by charges and imputations on the public character and conduct of the State which he represented, which he knew to be undeserved and unfounded. "While I stand here," said he, "as representative of Massachusetts, I will be her true representative, and, by the blessing of God, I will vindicate her character, motives and history from every imputation coming from a respectable source." Col. Benton followed Mr. Webster, and at once commenced a speech in reply. The next day (Thursday, the 21st), Mr. Chambers, of Maryland, expressed a hope that the Senate would postpone the further consideration of the subject until the next Monday, as Mr. Webster, who desired to be present whenever it should be resumed, had pressing engagements in another quarter, and could not conveniently attend in the Senate. It was well understood that the legal case of a good deal of importance, in which John Jacob Astor and the State of New-York were parties, and in which Mr. Webster was of counsel—was pending in the Supreme Court, and the argument had actually commenced on the 20th. Col. Hayne, however, resented the

suggestion of postponement. He said "he saw the gentleman from Massachusetts in his seat, and presumed he could make an arrangement which would enable him to attend." He was unwilling that the subject should be postponed until he could reply to certain observations which had fallen from Mr. Webster the day before. Unable, and not caring, to restrain evidences of the feeling which Mr. Webster's speech had excited, he confessed that some things had fallen from him on that occasion which rankled here (touching his heart), and he desired at once to relieve himself. "The gentleman," he said, "has discharged his fire in the face of the Senate; and I hope the opportunity will now be afforded me of returning the shot." The menaces implied in this language, of course, left Mr. Webster no alternative. With swelling chest and lofty dignity of manner, he exclaimed: "Let the discussion proceed. I am ready. I am ready *now* to receive the gentleman's fire." The discussion, of course, did proceed. Col. Benton finished his speech; and Mr. Bell, of New Hampshire, then moved that the further consideration of the subject be postponed until Monday. This was lost by a party vote. And Col. Hayne at once commenced his speech in reply to Mr. Webster.

He spoke on that occasion for about an hour. He began by disavowing having had any purpose of charging any section of the country with hostility to any other, and by professing surprise at the manner in which his remarks had been received. He had questioned no man's opinion; he impeached no man's motives. The Senator from Missouri had indeed

charged upon the Northern States an early and continued hostility towards the West; but, after deliberating a whole night, the gentleman from Massachusetts had come into the Senate to vindicate New England, and, instead of making up his issue with the gentleman from Missouri, on the charge which he had preferred, said Col. H., "he chooses to consider *me* as the author of those charges; selects me as his adversary, and pours out all the vials of his mighty wrath upon my devoted head. Nor is he willing to stop there. He goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the South, and calls in question the principles and conduct of the State which I have the honor to represent." Col. Hayne went on to suggest reasons for this course on the part of Mr. Webster. "Has he discovered," he asked, "in former controversies with the gentleman from Missouri, that he is over-*matched* by that Senator; and does he hope for an easy victory over a more feeble adversary? Has his distempered fancy been disturbed by gloomy forebodings of the 'new alliances to be formed,' at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered Coalition come back, like the ghost of the murdered Banquo, to 'sear the eyeballs' of the gentleman, and will it not 'down at his bidding?' Are dark visions of broken hopes and honors lost for ever still floating before his heated imagination?" And he proceeded to say that he would not suffer Mr. Webster thus to thrust him between the gentleman from Missouri and himself, in order to rescue the East from the contest with the West, which he had provoked. "The South shall not be forced into a

conflict not its own. The gallant West needs no aid from the South to repel any attack which may be made on them from any quarter." With this exordium, well calculated to stimulate interest and to prepare the way for a severe personal collision, Col. Hayne went on to repel the idea that the West had grown great in consequence of the measures of the General Government, upon which Mr. Webster had pronounced what he styled an extravagant eulogium. He ridiculed also the pretensions preferred by Mr. Webster to prominence as a statesman, on behalf of "a certain Nathan Dane, of Beverley, Massachusetts," who was only known to the South, he said, as "a member of a celebrated Assembly, called and known by the name of the Hartford Convention." His next point was to show that in 1825 Mr. Webster had held and expressed upon the subject of the public lands precisely the views which he himself had now advanced, and which Mr. Webster had assailed. "In 1825," said he, "the gentleman told the world that the public lands 'ought not to be treated as a treasure.' He now tells us that they 'must be treated as so much treasure.' What the deliberate opinion of the gentleman on this subject may be belongs not to me to determine; but I do not think he can, with the shadow of justice or propriety, impugn my sentiments, while his own recorded opinions are identical with my own." Col. H. next took up Mr. Webster's claim that the East had always shown its friendliness towards the West, by favoring internal improvements, from which the South had been deterred by its constitutional scruples. He alleged, in reply, that

the only occasion in which the East had thus favored the West was in 1825, when the presidential election was pending in the House of Representatives. There it was, he said, that "a happy union between the members of the celebrated *coalition* was consummated, whose immediate issue was a President from one quarter of the Union, with the succession, as it was supposed, to another." Referring next to the intimation thrown out by Mr. Webster that the extraordinary fervor of the South for the payment of the national debt arose from a disposition to weaken the ties which bind the people to the Union, Col. H. repudiated the idea for the South, that a pecuniary dependence on the Federal Government was one of the legitimate means of holding the State together. And coming then to the claim of Mr. Webster that the transcendent prosperity of Ohio had been due in a great degree to the Ordinance of 1787, which had "secured to her a population of *free men*," Col. H. entered into an extended rebuke of this attack upon Southern slavery, contrasting the condition of the slaves with that of the free blacks of the North, denying that slavery was an element of weakness to the South, stigmatizing the friendship professed for the blacks as springing from the spirit of false philanthropy, which, like the father of evil, is constantly walking to and fro about the earth, seeking whom it may devour," and claiming that slavery had been the means of greatly elevating the individual character of the Southern people. He next assailed Mr. Webster's position in regard to the consolidation of the Government, provided for by the Constitution,—

insisting that the Union was not designed to be national but federal; and, then referring to the subject of the Tariff, charged Mr. Webster with glaring inconsistency in having advocated Free Trade in 1824, and in 1828 having supported the Tariff which had been known ever since as the "bill of abominations."

Colonel Hayne closed his speech on that day by citing Mr. Webster's intimation that there was a party in the South who were looking to *disunion*. If the accusation had been vague and general, he said he should have passed it without notice. But as Mr. Webster had given to it a local habitation and a name, by quoting the expression of a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, (Dr. Cooper,) that "it was time for the South to calculate the value of the Union," and in the language of the bitterest sarcasm to add, "surely then the Union cannot last longer than July, 1831," it was impossible to mistake either the allusion or the object. And he finished by protesting that this controversy was not of his seeking; that at the time this unprovoked and uncalled for attack was made upon the South, not one word had been uttered by him in disparagement of New England, nor had he the most distant allusion either to the Senator from Massachusetts, or the State which he represents. "But, sir," he added, "that gentleman has thought proper, for purposes best known to himself, to strike the South through me, the most unworthy of her servants. He has crossed the border, he has invaded the State of South Carolina, is making war upon her citizens, and endeavoring to overthrow her principles and her institutions. Sir,

when the gentleman provokes me to such a conflict, I meet him at the threshold. I will struggle while I have life, for our altars and our firesides—and if God gives me strength, I will drive back the invader discomfited. Nor shall I stop there. If the gentleman provokes the war, he shall have war. Sir, I will not stop at the border—I will carry the war into the enemy's territory, and not consent to lay down my arms until I have obtained indemnity for the past and security for the future. It is with unfeigned reluctance, Mr. President, that I enter upon the performance of this part of my duty—I shrink almost instinctively from a course, however necessary, which may have a tendency to excite sectional feelings and sectional jealousies. But, sir, the task has been forced upon me; and I proceed right onward to the performance of my duty. Be the consequences what they may, the responsibility is with those who have imposed upon me the necessity. The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to cast the first stone; and if he shall find, according to a homely adage, that he 'lives in a glass-house,' on his head be the consequences." And with this formidable warning, savoring far more of arrogant confidence than of dignity and good taste, Col. Hayne gave way to a motion to adjourn until Monday, which was carried. The intervening time was spent in preparing to rivet and strengthen the impression already made against Mr. Webster. The boldness of the attack, the direct personality which the debate had assumed, and the vehemence of the orator's language and manner, had given great force to the speech; and it was

generally felt that he had made a formidable and effective onset. Colonel Hayne was warmly congratulated by all his party friends upon his success, and was stimulated to renewed assaults. The party press swelled the acclamations with which his speech was greeted, and extolled it as the greatest effort of ancient or of modern times. Mr. Webster's friends, moreover, were not free from misgivings. Though by no means lacking confidence in the ability of their great leader, they had never seen him exposed to an attack of precisely this character, and could not, therefore, be fully assured as to the manner in which he would meet it. Some of the friends of Colonel Hayne, it is said, who had felt Mr. Webster's power directed against themselves, were by no means sure that the victory would rest with their own champion. To a friend of Hayne, who was praising his speech, Mr. Iredell, of South Carolina, remarked; "He has started the lion, but wait till we hear him roar, or feel his claws." On Monday, in continuing his speech, Col. Hayne spoke, first, in impassioned terms of the services rendered to the country by South Carolina, during the war of the Revolution, in the political crisis of 1798, and during the war of 1812; and he then proceeded to a detailed denunciation of the conduct of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, in that contest with Great Britain, alleging that they had taken sides with the enemy and against their own country, and sustaining his accusations by copious citations from the federal newspapers, partisan speeches, and the pulpit declamations of that day. He then entered upon an exposition

and vindication of the theory of the Federal Government as held by the South, in opposition to the theory of Consolidation, for which, as he alleged, Mr. Webster was contending, quoting Jefferson and Madison, and resolutions passed by the Legislatures of several Southern States, in support of his view, and closing his speech by an earnest declaration that in all the steps she had taken to resist the encroachments and usurpations of the Federal Government, South Carolina was acting on a principle she had always held sacred, "resistance to unauthorized taxation." "Sir," he exclaimed in conclusion, "if acting on these high motives—if animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait of the Southern character—we should be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, that would not be disposed, in the language of Burke, to exclaim, 'You must pardon something to the spirit of Liberty.'"

The onset was over. And, as would have been the case had the attack been less formidable than it was, victory rested with the only party whose forces had been displayed. Mr. Webster immediately rose to reply, but, as it was late in the day, he gave way to a motion to adjourn. Everywhere during the evening and night following, the speech was canvassed. "The town," says Mr. March, "was divided into geographical opinions. One's home could be distinguished from his countenance or manner; a Southerner's by his buoyant, joyous expression and confident air; a Yankee's by his timid, anxious eye and de-

pressed bearing. One walked with a bold determined step that courted observation; the other with a hesitating, shuffling gait, that seemed to long for some dark corner, some place to hear and see, and be unseen." Mr. Webster felt entirely conscious of ability to meet both the argument and the assault, and was perfectly calm and self-possessed. Mr. Everett, recording a conversation which he had with Mr. Webster at the time, speaks of the dry business-tone in which he talked and read over to him, the points he intended to make, as giving him some uneasiness for fear he was not sufficiently aware how much was expected of him the next day. He had, of course, taken full notes of Col. Hayne's speech, and had given to each part of it a careful and exhaustive consideration. Not a quotation nor an allusion had escaped him. It is mentioned that, while lying down after dinner, he was overheard, by a friend, laughing to himself. On being asked what amused him so, he replied, "I have been thinking of the way in which Col. Hayne's quotation about Banquo's ghost, can be turned against himself; and I am going to get up and make a note of it,"—which he immediately did. The scenes and incidents of the next day are so vividly presented in one of the chapters of Mr. March's Reminiscences, and the sketch has so much of literary, as well as biographical interest, that we transfer it, with trifling omissions, to our columns.

It was on Tuesday, January the 26th, 1830,—a day to be hereafter for ever memorable in Senatorial annals,—that the Senate resumed the consideration of Foote's Resolution. There never was before, in

the city, an occasion of so much excitement. To witness this great intellectual contest, multitudes of strangers had for two or three days previous been rushing into the city, and the hotels overflowed. As early as 9 o'clock of this morning, crowds poured into the Capitol in hot haste; at 12 o'clock, the hour of meeting, the Senate Chamber,—its galleries, floors, and even lobbies,—was filled to its utmost capacity. The very stairways were dark with men, who hung on to one another, like bees in a swarm.

The House of Representatives was early deserted. An adjournment would have hardly made it emptier. The Speaker, it is true, retained his chair, but no business of moment was, or could be attended to. Members all rushed in to hear Mr. Webster, and no call of the House or other parliamentary proceedings could compel them back. The floor of the Senate was so densely crowded that persons once in, could not get out, nor change their position; in the rear of the Vice-Presidential chair, the crowd was particularly intense. Dixon H. Lewis, then a representative from Alabama, became wedged in here. From his enormous size, it was impossible for him to move, without displacing a vast portion of the multitude. Unfortunately too, for him, he was jammed in directly behind the chair of the Vice-President, where he could not see, and hardly hear, the speaker. By slow and laborious effort—pausing occasionally to breathe, he gained one of the windows, which, constructed of painted glass, flank the chair of the Vice-President on either side. Here he paused unable to make more headway. But determined to see Mr.

Webster as he spoke, with his knife he made a large hole in one of the panes of the glass; which is still visible as he made it. Many were so placed, as not to be able to see the speaker at all.

The courtesy of Senators accorded to the fairer sex room on the floor—the most gallant of them, their own seats. The gay bonnets and brilliant dresses threw a varied and picturesque beauty over the scene, softening and embellishing it.

Seldom, if ever, has speaker in this or any other country had more powerful incentives to exertion; a subject, the determination of which, involved the most important interests, and even duration, of the republic; competitors, unequalled in reputation, ability, or position; a name to make still more glorious, or lose for ever; an audience comprising not only persons of this country most eminent in intellectual greatness, but representatives of other nations, where the art of eloquence had flourished for ages. All the soldier seeks in opportunity was here.

Mr. Webster perceived, and felt equal to the destinies of the moment. The very greatness of the hazard exhilarated him. His spirits rose with the occasion. He awaited the time of the onset with a stern and impatient joy. He felt like the war-horse of the Scriptures,—who "paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: who goeth on to meet the armed men,—who sayeth among the trumpets, Ha, ha! and who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting."

A confidence in his own resources, springing from no vain estimate of his power, but the legitimate off-

spring of previous severe mental discipline sustained and excited him. He had gauged his opponents, his subject and *himself*.

He was too, at this period, in the very prime of manhood. He had reached middle age—an era in the life of man, when the faculties, physical or intellectual, may be supposed to attain their fullest organization, and most perfect development. Whatever there was in him of intellectual energy and vitality, the occasion, his full life and high ambition, might well bring forth.

He never rose on an ordinary occasion, to address an ordinary audience, more self-possessed. There was no tremulousness in his voice or manner; nothing hurried, nothing simulated. The calmness of superior strength was visible everywhere; in countenance, voice and bearing. A deep-seated conviction of the extraordinary character of the emergency, and of his ability to control it, seemed to possess him wholly. If an observer, more than ordinarily keen-sighted, detected at times something like exultation in his eye, he presumed it sprang from the excitement of the moment, and the anticipation of victory.

The anxiety to hear the speech was so intense, irrepressible and universal, that no sooner had the Vice-President assumed the chair, than a motion was made, and unanimously carried, to postpone the ordinary preliminaries of senatorial action, and take up, immediately, the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. Webster rose and addressed the Senate. His exordium is known by heart everywhere: "Mr. Presi-

dent, when the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence; and before we float further on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may, at least, be able to form some conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution."

There wanted no more to enchain the attention. There was a spontaneous, though silent expression of eager approbation, as the orator concluded these opening remarks; and while the Clerk read the resolution, many attempted the impossibility of getting nearer the speaker. Every head was inclined closer towards him, every ear turned in the direction of his voice—and that deep, sudden, mysterious silence followed, which always attends fulness of emotion. From the sea of upturned faces, before him, the orator beheld his thoughts reflected as from a mirror. The varying countenance, the suffused eye, the earnest smile, and ever-attentive look, assured him of his audience's entire sympathy. If among his hearers there were those who affected, at first, an indifference to his glowing thoughts and fervent periods, the difficult mask was soon laid aside, and profound, undisguised, devoted attention followed. In the earlier part of his speech, one of his principal opponents seemed deeply engrossed in the careful perusal of a newspaper he held before his face; but this, on near-

er approach, proved to be *upside down.* In truth, all, sooner or later, voluntarily, or in spite of themselves, were wholly carried away by the eloquence of the orator.

One of the happiest retorts ever made in a forensic controversy, was his application of Hayne's comparison of the ghost of the "murdered coalition" to the Ghost of Banquo:

"Sir, the honorable member was not, for other reasons, entirely happy in his allusions to the story of Banquo's murder and Banquo's ghost. It was not, I think, the friends, but the enemies of the murdered Banquo, at whose bidding his spirit would not *down.* The honorable gentleman is fresh in his reading of the English classics, and can put me right if I am wrong; but, according to my poor recollection, it was at those who had begun with caresses and ended with foul and treacherous murder, that the gory locks were shaken. The ghost of Banquo, like that of Hamlet, was an honest ghost. It disturbed no innocent man. It knew where its appearance would strike terror, and who would cry out 'A ghost!' It made itself visible in the right quarter, and compelled the guilty and the conscience-smitten, and none others, to start, with,

> 'Prithee, see there! behold! look! lo,
> If I stand here, I saw him!'

Their eyeballs were scared (was it not so, sir?) who had thought to shield themselves, by concealing their own hand, and laying the imputation of the crime on a low and hireling agency in wickedness; who had

vainly attempted to stifle the workings of their own coward consciences, by ejaculating, through white lips and chattering teeth, 'Thou canst not say I did it!' I have misread the great poet if those who had no way partaken in the deed of death, either found that they were, or *feared that they should be*, pushed from their stools by the ghost of the slain, or exclaimed, to a spectre created by their own fears and their own remorse, "Avaunt! and quit our sight!"

There was a smile of appreciation upon the faces all around, at this most felicitous use of another's illustration—this turning one's own witness against him—in which Col. Hayne good-humoredly joined.

As the orator carried out the moral of Macbeth, and proved by the example of that deep thinking, intellectual, but insanely ambitious character, how little of substantial good or permanent power was to be secured by a devious and unblessed policy, he turned his eye with a significance of expression, full of prophetic revelation upon the Vice-President, reminding him that those who had foully removed Banquo, had placed

> "A barren sceptre in their gripe,
> *Thence to be wrenched by an unlineal hand,*
> *No son of theirs succeeding.*"

Every eye of the whole audience followed the direction of his own, and witnessed the changing countenance and visible agitation of Mr. Calhoun.

Surely no prediction ever met a more rapid or fuller confirmation, even to the very manner in which the disaster was accomplished. Within a few brief

months, the political fortunes of the Vice-President, at this moment seemingly on the very point of culmination, had sunk so low, there were none so poor to do him reverence.

Whether, for a moment, a presentiment of the approaching crisis in his fate, forced upon his mind by the manner and language of the speaker, cast a gloom over his countenance, or some other cause, it is impossible to say; but his brow grew dark—nor for some time did his features recover their usual impassibility.

The allusion nettled him—the more, as he could not but witness the effect it produced upon others—and made him restless. He seemed to seek an opportunity to break in upon the speaker; and, later in the day, as Mr. Webster was exposing the gross and ludicrous inconsistencies of South Carolina politicians, upon the subject of internal improvements, he interrupted him with some eagerness: "Does the Chair understand the gentleman from Massachusetts to say that the person now occupying the Chair of the Senate has changed his opinions on this subject?" To this Mr. Webster replied immediately and good-naturedly: "From nothing ever said to me, sir, have I had reason to know of any change in the opinions of the person filling the Chair of the Senate. If such change has taken place, I regret it."*

* Mr. Calhoun's interruption was un-Parliamentary, or rather, un-Senatorial. The Vice-President is not a member of the Senate, and has no voice in it, save for the preservation of order and enforcement of the rules. He cannot participate otherwise, either in the debates or proceedings. He is simply the presiding offi-

Those who had doubted Mr. Webster's ability to cope with and overcome his opponents were fully satisfied of their error before he had proceeded far in his speech. Their fears soon took another direction. When they heard his sentences of powerful thought, towering in accumulative grandeur, one above the other, as if the orator strove, Titan-like, to reach the very heavens themselves, they were giddy with an apprehension that he would break down in his flight. They dared not believe that genius, learning, any intellectual endowment, however uncommon, that was simply mortal, could sustain itself long in a career seemingly so perilous. They feared an Icarian fall.

Ah! who can ever forget, that was present to hear, the tremendous, the *awful* burst of eloquence with which the orator spoke of the *Old Bay State!* or the tones of deep pathos in which the words were pronounced:

"Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium

cer of the Senate, having no vote in its affairs, save on a tie. Had Mr. Webster made a direct, unmistakable allusion to him, Mr. Calhoun still could have replied through a friendly Senator, or the press. On this occasion he was too much excited to attend to the etiquette of his position. His feelings and his interest in the question made him forgetful of his duty.

Some time later than this, after a rupture had taken place between Gen. Jackson and himself, Mr. Forsyth, of Ga., on being interrupted by some (as he thought) uncalled for question or remark, rebuked him in an emphatic manner for violation of official etiquette. Mr. Van Buren, who ousted and succeeded him, always remained silent, placid, imperturbable in his seat, however personal or severe the attack upon him; and no Vice-President, since his day, has ever attempted to interfere with the discussions of the Senate.

upon Massachusetts. There she is—behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history: the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill—and there they will remain for ever. The bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State, from New England to Georgia, and there they will lie for ever. And, sir, where American Liberty raised its first voice; and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it—if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at and tear it—if folly and madness—if uneasiness, under salutary and necessary restraint—shall succeed to separate it from that Union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm with whatever of vigor it may still retain, over the friends who gather round it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin."

What New England heart was there but throbbed with vehement, tumultuous, irrepressible emotion, as he dwelt upon New England sufferings, New England struggles, and New England triumphs during the war of the Revolution? There was scarcely a dry eye in the Senate; all hearts were overcome; grave judges and men grown old in dignified life turned aside their heads, to conceal the evidences of their emotion.

In one corner of the gallery was clustered a group of Massachusetts men. They had hung from the first moment upon the words of the speaker, with feelings variously but always warmly excited, deepening in intensity as he proceeded. At first, while the orator was going through his exordium, they held their breath and hid their faces, mindful of the savage attack upon him and New England, and the fearful odds against him, her champion;—as he went deeper into his speech, they felt easier; when he turned Hayne's flank on Banquo's ghost, they breathed freer and deeper. But now, as he alluded to Massachusetts, their feelings were strained to the highest tension; and when the orator, concluding his encomium upon the land of their birth, turned, intentionally, or otherwise, his burning eye full upon them, *they shed tears like girls!*

No one who was not present can understand the excitement of the scene. No one, who was, can give an adequate description of it. No word-painting can convey the deep, intense enthusiasm, the reverential attention, of the vast assembly—nor limner transfer to canvas their earnest, eager, awe-struck countenances. Though language were as subtle and flexible as thought, it still would be impossible to represent the full idea of the scene. There is something intangible in an emotion, which cannot be transferred. The nicer shades of feeling elude pursuit. Every description, therefore, of the occasion, seems to the narrator himself most tame, spiritless, unjust.

Much of the instantaneous effect of the speech arose, of course, from the orator's delivery—the tones

of his voice, his countenance, and manner.* These die mostly with the occasion that calls them forth—the impression is lost in the attempt at transmission from one mind to another. They can only be described in general terms. "Of the effectiveness of Mr. Webster's manner, in many parts," says Mr. Everett, "it would be in vain to attempt to give any one not present the faintest idea. It has been my fortune to hear some of the ablest speeches of the greatest living orators on both sides of the water, but I must confess, I never heard any thing which so completely realized my conception of what Demosthenes was when he delivered the Oration for the Crown."

Assuredly, Kean nor Kemble, nor any other masterly delineator of the human passions ever produced a more powerful impression upon an audience, or swayed so completely their hearts. This was *acting*, —not *to* the life,—but life itself.

* The personal appearance of Mr. Webster has been a theme of frequent discussion. He was at the time this speech was delivered twenty years younger than now. Time had not thinned nor bleached his hair: it was as dark as the raven's plumage, surmounting his massive brow in ample folds. His eyes, always dark and deep set, enkindled by some glowing thought, shone from beneath his sombre, overhanging brow like lights, in the blackness of night, from a sepulchre. It was such a countenance as Salvator Rosa delighted to paint.

No one understood, or understands, better than Mr. Webster, the philosophy of dress; what a powerful auxiliary it is to speech and manner, when harmonizing with them. On this occasion he appeared in a blue coat and buff vest,—the Revolutionary colors of buff and blue;—with a white cravat; a costume, than which none is more becoming to his face and expression. This courtly particularity of dress adds no little to the influence of his manner and appearance.

No one ever looked the orator, as he did—"*os humerosque deo similis*," in form and feature how like a god. His countenance spake no less audibly than his words. His manner gave new force to his language. As he stood swaying his right arm, like a huge tilt-hammer, up and down, his swarthy countenance lighted up with excitement, he appeared amid the smoke, the fire, the thunder of his eloquence, like Vulcan in his armory forging thoughts for the gods!

The human face never wore an expression of more withering, relentless scorn, than when the orator replied to Hayne's allusion to the "murdered coalition." "It is," said Mr. W., "the very cast-off slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapable of further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of the honorable member to give it dignity or decency, by attempting to elevate it, and introduce it into the Senate. He cannot change it from what it is—an object of general disgust and scorn. On the contrary, the contact, if he choose to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down to the place where it lies itself." He looked, as he spoke these words, as if the thing he alluded to was too mean for scorn itself—and the sharp, stinging enunciation made the words still more withering. The audience seemed relieved,—so crushing was the expression of his face which they held on to, as 'twere, spell-bound,—when he turned to other topics.

The good-natured yet provoking irony with which he described the imaginary though lifelike scene of direct collision between the marshalled array of

South Carolina under General Hayne on one side, and the officers of the United States on the other, nettled his opponent even more than his severer satire; it seemed so ridiculously true, that Col. Hayne inquired, with some degree of emotion, if the gentleman from Massachusetts intended any *personal* imputation by such remarks? To which Mr. Webster replied, with perfect good humor, "Assuredly not—just the reverse."

The variety of incident during the speech, and the rapid fluctuation of passions, kept the audience in continual expectation and ceaseless agitation. There was no chord of the heart the orator did not strike, as with a master hand. The speech was a complete drama of comic and pathetic scenes; one varied excitement; laughter and tears gaining alternate victory.

A great portion of the speech is strictly argumentative; an exposition of constitutional law. But grave as such portion necessarily is, severely logical, abounding in no fancy or episode, it engrossed throughout the undivided attention of every intelligent hearer. Abstractions, under the glowing genius of the orator, acquired a beauty, a vitality, a power to thrill the blood and enkindle the affections, awakening into earnest activity many a dormant faculty. His ponderous syllables had an energy, a vehemence of meaning in them that fascinated, while they startled. His thoughts, in their statuesque beauty merely, would have gained all critical judgment; but he realized the antique fable, and warmed the marble into life. There was a sense of power in his language—of power withheld and suggestive of still greater power,—that subdued, as by a spell of mystery, the hearts of all.

For power, whether intellectual or physical, produces in its earnest development a feeling closely allied to awe. It was never more felt than on this occasion. It had entire mastery. The sex, which is said to love it best and abuse it most, seemed as much or more carried away than the sterner one. Many who had entered the hall with light gay thoughts, anticipating at most a pleasurable excitement, soon became deeply interested in the speaker and his subject—surrendered him their entire heart; and, when the speech was over, and they left the hall, it was with sadder, perhaps, but, surely, with far more elevated and ennobling emotions.

The exulting rush of feeling with which he went through the peroration, threw a glow over his countenance, like inspiration. Eye, brow, each feature, every line of the face seemed touched, as with a celestial fire. All gazed, as at something more than human. So Moses might have appeared to the awe-struck Israelites, as he emerged from the dark clouds and thick smoke of Sinai, his face all radiant with the breath of divinity!

The swell and roll of his voice struck upon the ears of the spell-bound audience, in deep and melodious cadence, as waves upon the shore of the "far resounding" sea. The Miltonic grandeur of his words was the fit expression of his thought, and raised his hearers up to his theme. His voice, exerted to its utmost power, penetrated every recess and corner of the Senate—penetrated even the anterooms and the stairways, as he pronounced in deepest tones of pathos these words of solemn

significance: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent! on a land rent with civil feud, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased nor polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, 'What is all this worth?' Nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards;' but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every American heart, *Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!*"

The speech was over, but the tones of the orator still lingered upon the ear, and the audience, unconscious of the close, retained their positions. The agitated countenance, the heaving breast, the suffused eye, attested the continued influence of the spell upon them. Hands that in the excitement of the moment had sought each other, still remained closed in an unsonscious grasp. Eye still turned to eye, to receive and repay mutual sympathy; and everywhere around seemed forgetfulness of all but the orator's presence and words.

When the Vice-President, hastening to dissolve the spell, angrily called to order! order! there never was a deeper stillness—not a movement, not a gesture had been made—not a whisper uttered. Order! Silence could almost have heard itself, it was so supernaturally still. The feeling was too overpowering to allow expression by voice or hand. It was as if one was in a trance, all motion paralyzed.

But the descending hammer of the Chair awoke them, with a start—and with one universal, long-drawn, deep breath, with which the overcharged heart seeks relief,—the crowded assembly broke up and departed.

The New England men walked down Pennsylvania Avenue that day, after the speech, with a firmer step and bolder air—"pride in their port, defiance in their eye." You would have sworn they had grown some inches taller in a few hours' time. They devoured the way in their stride. They looked every one in the face they met, fearing no contradiction. They swarmed in the streets, having become miraculously multitudinous. They clustered in parties, and fought the scene over one hundred times that night. Their elation was greater by reaction. It knew no limits, or choice of expression. Not one of them but felt he had gained a personal victory. Not one, who was not ready to exclaim, with gushing eyes, in the fulness of gratitude, "Thank God, I too am a Yankee!"

In the evening Gen. Jackson held a levee at the White House. It was known, in advance, that Mr. Webster would attend it, and hardly had the hospit-

able doors of the house been thrown open, when the crowd that had filled the Senate-chamber in the morning rushed in and occupied the rooms. Persons a little more tardy in arriving found it almost impossible to get in, such a crowd oppressed the entrance.

Before this evening, the General had been the observed of all observers. His military and personal reputation, official position, gallant bearing, and courteous manners, had secured him great and merited popularity. His receptions were always gladly attended by large numbers—to whom he was himself the object of attraction.

But on this occasion, the room in which he received his company was deserted, as soon as courtesy to the President permitted. Mr. Webster, it was whispered, was in the East Room, and thither the whole mass hurried.

He stood almost in the centre of the room, hemmed in by eager crowds, from whom there was no escape, all pressing to get nearer to him. He seemed but little exhausted by the intellectual exertion of the day, severe as it had been. The flush of excitement still lingered and played upon his countenance, gilding and beautifying it like the setting sun its accompanying clouds.

All were eager to get a sight at him. Some stood on tip-toe, and some even mounted the chairs of the room. Many were presented to him. The dense crowd entering and retiring, moved round him, renewing the order of their ingression and egression, continually. One would ask his neighbor: "Where —which is Webster?"—"There, don't you see him—

that dark, swarthy man, with a great deep eye and heavy brow—that's Webster." No one was obliged to make a second inquiry.

In another part of the room was Col. Hayne. He, too, had his day of triumph, and received congratulations. His friends even now contended that the contest was but a drawn battle, no full victory having been achieved on either side. There was nothing in his own appearance this evening to indicate the mortification of defeat. With others, he went up and complimented Mr. Webster on his brilliant effort; and no one, ignorant of the past struggle, could have supposed that they had late been engaged in such fierce rivalry. It was said at the time, that, as Col. Hayne approached Mr. Webster to tender his congratulations, the latter accosted him with the usual courtesy, "How are you, this evening, Col. Hayne?" and that Col. Hayne replied, good-humoredly, "*None the better for you, sir!*"

The speech of Mr. Webster on this occasion is so familiar to the whole country, and this extended extract gives so complete a picture of its general scope, that any more specific outline of it would be superfluous. In mere logic, it has often been surpassed:—but as a *reply* to a violent attack,—as a defence against a vehement and formidable assault,—and as combining all the various qualities which such an effort demands, it is unrivalled in the forensic history of this country, and has seldom been surpassed anywhere. As a masterpiece in this special department of eloquence, it deserves careful study; and although a severe analysis of it may detract something

from the popular estimate of its character, as compared with the great speeches of the master Orators of the world, it will only quicken the admiration which it deserves for felicity of retort, adroitness in turning the flanks of the attacking force, the logical consecutiveness of its historical statements, and the grand, stately, imaginative eloquence of its rhetorical passages. No one can read both speeches without feeling that Hayne's did not deserve such a reply; and that the two *athletes* were most unequally matched. Col. Hayne replied to Mr. Webster, confining himself, however, to the single point of the rights of the General Government under the Constitution. Mr. Webster rejoined in a brief restatement of his argument:—but this restatement was in fact a reconstruction of it. He presented it now divested of all the incidental matter by which it had originally been embarrassed, and without any of the rhetorical attendants which had swollen its stateliness and rendered it far more impressive and imposing, but which nevertheless impaired its real strength. As an *argument* merely, we consider this second speech, brief and unpretending as it is, decidedly superior to the first, in the popularity of which, however, it has been completely overshadowed. Mr. Webster's "great speech," as it is universally known, produced a great sensation throughout the country. It was widely circulated and universally read. The debate continued for some weeks, but the argument had been exhausted, and the discussion was really at an end. Mr. Webster received from every quarter of the Union the most complimentary congratulations upon the re-

sult of the contest, and upon the service he had rendered the country. Massachusetts passed resolutions of thanks, and the example was followed by the Legislatures of several other States. Distinguished Southern gentlemen added the tribute of their praise.

MR. WEBSTER AND NULLIFICATION.

Mr. Webster continued to take an active part in the business and debates of the Senate throughout the administration of General Jackson and his immediate successor. This period of our history was marked by events of magnitude and permanent importance. As the characteristic of General Jackson's mind was an indomitable will, so his administration was marked by an exaltation of the Executive at the expense of every other department of the Government. Whenever he fixed upon a measure as desirable, the whole power at his command, personal and official, was directed to its enforcement. In one of his Messages, indeed, in reply to objections that the will of the people, as represented in Congress, should be paramount in all cases of legislation, he advanced the distinct claim that the popular sovereignty was in fact embodied in the President, as he was elected by a direct vote of all the people. This principle, and the spirit which it indicated, began to manifest themselves in various acts of the administration, and to arouse no slight degree of opposition to its arbitrary character throughout the country.

General Jackson had been elected by the union of various parties. Mr. Adams, his unsuccessful com-

petitor, in a letter written in 1836, but which has but recently been published in the New-York *Daily Times*, ascribes his defeat to the union of *four* distinct parties against him. "At the election of 1825," he says: "There were four candidates, three of whom were returned to the House of Representatives—besides a fifth, who had sunk by his own weight into the secondary rank of an aspirant to the Vice-Presidency—in which he succeeded for the moment, by the ruin of his after-prospects, I believe, for ever. My election was effected in the House by the junction of the fourth and excluded candidate's supporters with mine, and that operation produced the subsequent failure of my re-election, the triumphal elevation of my successor, and the irretrievable disappointment of him who had, as a last resource, linked his political fortunes with mine, but who, from that hour, was deserted and betrayed by his own party. They gained the coalition of the *three* preceding disappointed candidates, and thus left me at the election of 1828 to my own solitary strength. That remained unimpaired, but was unequal to the contest with the united power of the *four* parties combined against me, and I fell." It was scarcely possible that this union should long exist unimpaired after the success for which it had been formed had brought responsibility to be incurred and duties to be performed. Mr. Calhoun, whose friendship had been indicated, if not purchased, by being elected Vice-President, speedily found that he could have in that position no special influence or control in the Government; and the exclusion of all his friends

from the Cabinet, and the appointment, as Secretary of State, of Mr. Van Buren, who was Mr. Calhoun's rival for the succession, and as such favored by General Jackson, completed the alienation. Private differences aggravated the quarrel, and it soon became open and violent. Mr. Van Buren, disliking all elements of strife, resigned the Secretaryship, and accepted the Mission to England. But, while in office, he had given Mr. McLane, then our Minister to the Court of St. James, instructions to seek concessions in regard to our trade with the British colonies, and to represent, as an inducement to the British Government to grant them, that the party which had come into power would be found more favorable to certain interests which Great Britain wished to secure. When, therefore, his nomination came before the Senate, its confirmation was strongly opposed by Mr. Webster, who in this had the concurrence of Mr. Calhoun; and it was rejected.

In the Twenty-second Congress the Bank question became prominent. At the first session (1831–2), a bill had been introduced by Mr. Dallas, providing for a recharter. Mr. Webster supported the bill, upon the ground that the Bank was highly important to the fiscal operations of the Government, and to the currency, exchange and general business of the country. The President had called the attention of Congress to the subject, without intimating any doubts of the constitutionality of the Bank. No complaints had been made of its management; it was in good credit at home and abroad, and was generally popular as an important agent in the financial operations of

the country. The President, however, had endeavored to control the appointment of some of the officers in one of the Eastern branches, and this attempt had been resisted. This difference created a feeling of hostility and of mutual suspicion between the President and the Bank, and led to that open warfare which convulsed the country for some years. The bill passed both Houses, and was vetoed by General Jackson.

Meantime the interest in this subject was superseded by another of more pressing importance. In South Carolina discontent under the Tariff had greatly increased. Under the operation of the various protective tariffs which had been enacted with the concurrence, and generally under the lead of the South, a large manufacturing interest had grown up in the Northern and Central States,—while the South had not experienced similar benefits from them. Large tracts of new lands recently opened to settlement near the Mississippi, had drawn from the worn-out sections along the Atlantic great numbers of their people, and the injurious results of this process, as well as of other circumstances, were attributed to the Tariff. Public resentment at the South had been thus turned against the principle of protection, and its constitutionality had been strongly denied. The feeling of discontent had led to the most hostile language, and Mr. Calhoun, with other leading men in the same section of the country, had distinctly asserted the right of any State to resist and nullify laws which she might conceive unconstitutional or in violation of her rights. Mr. Webster had repeatedly

met Mr. Calhoun in argument upon this question, and had always maintained the supremacy of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court in the United States as the final interpreter of its provisions. In some of his speeches, especially in one made on the 26th of January, 1830, Mr. Webster made a triumphant vindication of the position he had taken upon this subject.

General Jackson was, however, re-elected President in the fall of 1832; and the people of South Carolina were at once roused into the most intense excitement against the North and the protective policy. Public meetings were held throughout the State, and at a general convention, an Ordinance was adopted, declaring the unconstitutionality of the tariff laws, and proclaiming the purpose of South Carolina to resist any attempt that might be made to collect taxes under them within the limits of that State. The Legislature, which met soon after, ratified the Ordinance; declared the Tariff acts unconstitutional, null, and void; directed the enrolment and enlistment of volunteers, and advised all the citizens to put themselves in military array. The whole State was in arms. Musters were held every day. Charleston looked like a military dépôt, and an immediate collision between the State and National forces was apprehended. Colonel Hayne resigned his seat in the United States Senate, and was elected Governor of South Carolina. Mr. Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency, and succeeded Hayne in the Senate. Congress met early in December, and the vacant chair was filled by the election of Hugh L. White, of

Tennessee, over John Tyler, of Virginia—White receiving seventeen, and Tyler fourteen votes. Mr. Calhoun had not arrived, and rumors were afloat that General Jackson had threatened to arrest him on his way, for treason against the Government. What course, indeed, the President would take was not known, but it had been the topic of current rumor for some months previous. Mr. Webster in October, had met the citizens of Massachusetts in a public meeting at Worcester, and had there rehearsed the dangers of the country, re-asserted the supremacy of the Constitution, and claimed for *Congress* the power of providing for the emergency. He raised his voice "beforehand, against the unauthorized employment of military power, and against suspending the authority of the laws, by an armed force, under the pretence of putting down nullification." Referring to a rumor of General Jackson's intended action, which had been widely current, he said: "The President has no authority to blockade Charleston; the President has no authority to employ military force, till he shall be duly required to do so by law and by the civil authority. His duty is to cause the laws to be executed. His duty is to support the civil authority. His duty is, if the laws be resisted, to employ the military force of the country, if necessary, for their support and execution: but to do all this in compliance only with law and with decisions of tribunals." The course pursued by the people of South Carolina roused the President from the inactivity which had only concealed, but had not prevented, a vigilant preparation for the rising storm. Confidential orders

were issued to the officers of the Army and Navy to hold themselves in readiness for active service. General Winfield Scott was sent to Charleston, to take such steps as he might deem necessary to preserve the authority of the Government. Prudent and resolute men were stationed at the proper posts; arms and munitions of war were provided, and due preparation was made for all contingencies. On the 11th of December, 1832, the President issued a Proclamation, written by Mr. Edward Livingston, who had succeeded Mr. Van Buren as Secretary of State, from notes furnished by General Jackson himself; and taking, substantially, the ground which Mr. Webster had uniformly maintained in debate upon the subject. A counter-Proclamation was at once issued by Governor Hayne; and laws were at once passed by the Legislature for putting the State in a condition to carry on war with the General Government. United States troops were collected at various points; and on the other side, the militia were drilled, muskets cleaned, foreign officers tendered their services to the Governor, and every thing indicated the speedy approach of civil war. At a large meeting of Nullifiers, held at Charleston, Colonel Preston, one of their leading men, set forth the state of the case by declaring that "there were sixteen thousand back-countrymen with arms in their hands and cockades in their hats, ready to march to that city at a moment's notice; and the moment Congress shall pass the laws recommended by the President in relation to our port, I will pour down a torrent of volunteers, that shall sweep the myrmidons of the

tyrant from the soil of Carolina." Mr. Calhoun did not reach Washington until January. On the 4th of that month he took his seat in the Senate, received the congratulations of the members of that body, and, in the midst of a crowded and eager assembly, took the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. In a few days he moved for a call upon the President for copies of the Proclamation, and of the counter-Proclamation of Governor Hayne. These were communicated by the President on the 16th of January; and on the 21st the "*Force Bill*," as it was called, "making further provision for the collection of the revenue," was reported by Mr. Wilkins, from Pennsylvania, on behalf of the Judiciary Committee. It gave the President the largest powers over the men and money of the nation, to put down any armed resistance to the revenue laws of the United States. Upon this bill, and upon resolutions which he introduced, embodying his general views on the right of a State to annul unconstitutional laws of Congress, Mr. Calhoun made, on the 15th and 16th of February, the ablest argument ever advanced in support of his position. The debate, previous to that time, had been shared by various Senators, and had been marked by various incidents. Mr. Webster had maintained silence, except in one or two instances, where he had thrown in a suggestion upon some incidental point. Of this nature was a remark which he made, when there seemed to be a general disposition to attack *the bill*, passing over the proclamation. Mr. Webster desired it should be known, once for all, "that this was an Administration measure; that it is the President's

own measure; and I pray, gentlemen," said he, "to have the goodness, if they call it hard names, and talk boldly against its friends, not to overlook its source. Let them attack it, if they choose to attack it, in its origin." He had declined an invitation to speak upon the subject, so long as Mr. Calhoun had kept silent, or so long as the advantage in debate seemed to rest on the other side. But Mr. Calhoun's speech on this occasion called him out.

Mr. Calhoun's speech was awaited with great anxiety, and heard with eager interest. He was considered, beyond the bounds of his own State and party, as a bold, bad man. An all-devouring, unscrupulous personal ambition was popularly supposed to have driven him into this position of a conspirator against the Constitution. He was daily denounced as John *Catiline* Calhoun, by the special organ of the President, the *Globe*, and by the people at large he was feared as such. His personal appearance, as is remarked by the author already largely quoted, "answered well the preconceived idea of a conspirator. Tall, gaunt, and of a somewhat stooping figure, with a brow full, well-formed but receding; hair, not reposing on the head, but starting from it like the Gorgon's; a countenance, expressive of unqualified intellect, the lines of which seemed deeply gullied by intense thought; an eye that watched every thing and revealed nothing, ever inquisitive, restless and penetrating; and a manner emphatic, yet restrained, determined but cautious; persons who knew not his antecedents, nor his actual position, would have pointed him out as one that might meditate great and dan-

gerous pursuits. To an audience, already embittered, he seemed to realize the full idea of a conspirator." His speech was a master-piece of direct, simple, unadorned argumentation. It very far surpassed, in every respect, the previous effort of Mr. Hayne. Its tone was that of injured innocence,—claiming always that South Carolina was the party wronged, repelling, with calm and sorrowful dignity, the imputations which had been thrown out against himself, lamenting plaintively the decay of fraternal feeling between different members of the Union, and sustaining by an elaborate argument of great cogency, the right of a State—not to resist the Constitution, not even to judge of the exercise by the General Government of any power which it delegates—but to repudiate utterly every assumption of power *not* delegated, and to resist, as null and void, every law that may be passed under any such assumption. His speech extended through two days:—and he closed by challenging the opponents of his doctrine to disprove them, and warned them, in the concluding sentence, that the principles they might advance would be subjected to the revision of posterity.

Mr. Webster rose immediately and entered upon a reply. He had been looked to, not only by his own political friends, but by the President and his party, as the champion upon whom would devolve the defence of the ground they had taken. The bill had received prompt modification, in several respects, upon his requirement,—and had thus been brought into more full conformity with the views he had expressed at Worcester. His speech on this occasion is one of the

best he ever made. Less showy, it is more logical, than his reply to Hayne, and although it produced a less powerful impression at the time upon the audience which heard it, it will be far more frequently referred to hereafter for the argument it embodies. He stated the theory of Mr. Calhoun in a few brief sentences, stripping it of all the qualifications by which that master of language and of thought had concealed its real meaning.

"Beginning with the original error, that the Constitution of the United States is nothing but a compact between Sovereign States; asserting in the next step, that each State has a right to be its own sole judge of the extent of its own obligations, and, consequently, of the constitutionality of laws of Congress; and in the next, that it may oppose whatever it sees fit to declare unconstitutional, and that it decides for itself on the mode and measure of redress, the argument arrives at once at the conclusion, that what a State dissents from, it may nullify; what it opposes, it may oppose by force; what it decides for itself, it may execute by its own power; and that, in short, it is itself supreme over the legislation of Congress, and supreme over the decisions of the national judicature —supreme over the Constitution of the country—supreme over the supreme law of the land. However it seeks to protect itself against these plain inferences, by saying that an unconstitutional law is no law, and that it only opposes such laws as are unconstitutional, yet this does not, in the slightest degree, vary the result, since it insists on deciding this question for itself; and, in opposition to reason and argument, in

opposition to practice and experience, in opposition to the judgment of others having an equal right to judge, it says only: 'Such is my opinion, and my opinion shall be my law, and I will support it by my own strong hand. I denounce the law. I declare it unconstitutional; that is enough; it shall not be executed. Men in arms are ready to resist its execution. An attempt to enforce it shall cover the land with blood. Elsewhere, it may be binding; but here, it is trampled under foot.' This, Sir, is practical nullification."

Against these positions Mr. Webster laid down a system embodied in the following propositions:

I. That the Constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy, or compact, between the people of the several States in their sovereign capacities; but a Government proper, founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations between itself and individuals.

II. That no State authority has power to dissolve those relations; that nothing can dissolve them but revolution; and that, consequently, there can be no such thing as secession without revolution.

III. That there is a supreme law, consisting of the Constitution of the United States, acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and treaties; and that, in cases not capable of assuming the character of a suit in law or equity, Congress must judge of, and finally interpret, this supreme law, so often as it has occasion to pass acts of legislation; and in cases capable of assuming, and actually assuming, the cha-

racter of a suit, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final interpreter.

IV. That an attempt by a State to abrogate, annul, or nullify an act of Congress, or to arrest its operation within her limits, on the ground that, in her opinion, such law is unconstitutional, is a direct usurpation on the just powers of the General Government, and on the equal rights of other States; a plain violation of the Constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary in its character and tendency.

These propositions were maintained with great ability, without any attempt at sarcasm, humor, or anything but simple argument. The opinion generally entertained of its merit and conclusiveness is well indicated in a letter written to him very soon after its delivery, by Ex-President Madison. As Mr. Madison was largely concerned in drafting the famous resolutions of 1798, upon which the whole State Rights theory is generally based, his opinion upon this subject was, and still is, entitled to great weight. We think, therefore, that our readers will be glad to read his letter to Mr. Webster on that occasion, which has hitherto been published only in Mr. Everett's biographical sketch, prefixed to the recent edition of Mr. Webster's Speeches.

"MONTPELIER, March 15, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I return my thanks, &c., for the copy of your late very powerful speech in the Senate of the United States. It crushes "nullification," and must hasten an abandonment of "seces-

sion." But this dodges the blow by confounding the claim to secede at will with the right of seceding from intolerable oppression. The former answers itself, being a violation, without cause, of a faith solemnly pledged. The latter is another name only for revolution, about which there is no theoretic controversy. Its double aspect, nevertheless, with the countenance received from certain quarters, is giving it a popular currency here, which may influence the approaching elections, both for Congress and for the State Legislature. It has gained some advantage, also, by mixing itself with the question whether the Constitution of the United States was formed by the people, or by the States, now under a theoretic discussion by animated partisans.

"It is fortunate when disputed theories can be decided by undisputed facts, and here the undisputed fact is, that the Constitution was made by the people, but as embodied into the several States who were parties to it—therefore made by the States in their highest authoritative capacity. They might, by the same authority, and by the same process, have converted the confederacy into a mere league or treaty, or continued it with enlarged or abridged power; or have embodied the people of their respective States into one people, nation, or sovereignty; or, as they did, by a mixed form, make them one people, nation, or sovereignty, for certain purposes, and not so for others.

"The Constitution of the United States, being established by a competent authority—by that of the sovereign people of the several States who were par-

ties to it—it remains only to inquire what the Constitution is; and here it speaks for itself. It organizes a government into the usual legislative, executive, and judiciary departments; invests it with specified powers, leaving others to the parties to the Constitution. It makes the government, like other governments, to operate directly on the people; places at its command the needful physical means of executing its powers; and, finally, proclaims its supremacy, and that of the laws made in pursuance of it, over the constitutions and laws of the States, the powers of the government being exercised, as in other elective and responsible governments, under the control of its constituents, the people and the Legislatures of the States, and subject to the revolutionary rights of the people in extreme cases.

"Such is the Constitution of the United States, *de jure* and *de facto*, and the name, whatever it be, that may be given to it, can make it nothing more or less than what it is.

"Pardon this hasty effusion, which, whether precisely according or not with your ideas, presents, I am aware, none that will be new to you.

"With great esteem and cordial salutations,

"JAMES MADISON.

"Mr. WEBSTER."

The bill, as is well known, passed—with the vote of John Tyler alone, in the negative; its other opponents having, from various reasons, left the Senate Chamber before the vote was taken. It is of course scarcely necessary to add, that Mr. Clay had

taken no part in this great debate, having been anxiously and laboriously engaged in elaborating and preparing the way for the *Compromise*, by which the dispute was at last adjusted. Mr. Webster's course in this crisis, commanded the warm approbation of General Jackson, who felt the extent of the service thus rendered to his administration. He took an early opportunity, in person, to express his cordial gratitude for his support, and his Secretary of State, Mr. Livingston, repeatedly made similar acknowledgments. It has been alleged that, mainly at Mr. Livingston's suggestion, General Jackson was strongly disposed to seek an alliance with Mr. Webster, founded upon the community of their principles upon this subject, which should extend to the whole of General Jackson's administration. It is alleged, on good authority, that Mr. Livingston, with the President's consent, consulted Mr. Webster upon the subject, and that a seat in the Cabinet was at the same time placed at his disposal. One fact, bearing upon this subject, is given by Mr. March, as upon authority. He states that a distinguished Senator, a political and personal friend of General Jackson, brought to Mr. Webster a list of intended nominees for office in the Eastern States, and asked him to erase therefrom the names of any who might be personally objectionable to him. This he declined to do, from an unwillingness to place himself under any obligation to the Administration, which might at all interfere with the freedom of his action. No one can avoid speculating as to the different political fortunes which might have overtaken the country, had the stern energy of Gen. Jackson

and the profound wisdom of Mr. Webster, been united in directing its destiny.

THE BANK CONTROVERSY.

The next great topic which enlisted public attention was well calculated,—and its introduction, by the leaders of the Democratic party, it has been charged, was designed—to render any such co-operation between these two commanding spirits out of the question. Mr. Webster, at the close of the session, made a short journey to the Middle and Western States. He was received everywhere with the most distinguished attention, being greeted by public meetings in all the principal cities, and making at various points addresses upon topics of public interest. Gen. Jackson also made a Northern tour during the same recess of Congress; and it was during that period that the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States was determined on. It was carried into effect in September, 1833, and its immediate effect upon the business of the country was most disastrous. Congress met two months after; and one of the earliest movements in the Senate was the offering of a resolution by Mr. Clay, calling on the President for a copy of a paper said to have been read by him at a Cabinet meeting in regard to the removal of the deposits on the 18th of September. He supported the resolution in an animated speech, and it was adopted by a vote of 23 to 18,—the State-Rights men, on this occasion, abandoning General Jackson, and leaving the Administration in a minority. The President, in reply

to the resolution, declared his independence of the Senate, as a co-ordinate branch of the Government; and he "had yet to learn under what constituted authority that branch of the Legislature had a right to require of him an account of any communication, either verbally or in writing, made to the heads of Departments in Cabinet Council." He therefore declined to comply with the request contained in the resolution. In the paper thus called for he had declared that he had decided upon the measure in question, and should carry it into effect upon his own responsibility, and without requiring any member of his Cabinet to make any sacrifice of opinion or of principle. For this he was severely denounced by the Opposition. Mr. Clay offered resolutions of substantial censure, and supported them in one of the ablest speeches he ever made. After a long and vehement debate, the resolutions, considerably modified by its author, passed the Senate,—one of them by a vote of 26 to 20, and the other 28 to 18. In the discussion upon these resolutions Mr. Webster took no part. But in reply to them, General Jackson sent to the Senate on the 17th of April, 1834, his memorable Protest, in which he argued with great ability, 1st, that the Executive, under the Constitution and the laws, is the sole custodian of the public funds; 2dly, that even on the supposition that he had assumed an illegal power, he was amenable to the action of either House, only through the constitutional process of impeachment; 3dly, that the President alone is responsible to the People alone for the conduct of all the subordinate Executive Officers, while they in turn

are responsible only to him; and 4th, that he is the direct, immediate representative of the people. This formidable document, and the claim it preferred to the most extraordinary powers, aroused profound sensation, not only in the Senate, but throughout the country.

On the 7th of May, Mr. Webster delivered a speech upon the subject, in which he subjected every portion of that remarkable paper to the severest examination. At the opening and the close of his remarks he took occasion to disavow, in the most earnest manner, everything like personal or partisan feeling against the President, a man who, he said, "has rendered most distinguished services to his country, and whose honesty of motive and integrity of purpose are still maintained by those who admit that his administration has fallen into lamentable errors." But he regarded the doctrines of the Protest as at war with all sound principles of constitutional liberty, and as indicating a tendency on the part of the Executive towards a despotic usurpation of powers belonging to other departments, which called for the most prompt and determined resistance. Even if no harm should result from the claim, still it ought not to be allowed to pass unchallenged. "It was against the recital of an act of Parliament, rather than against any suffering under its enactment, that our fathers took up arms. They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration." Upon this question of principle, "while suffering was yet afar off, they raised their flag against a power to which, for purposes of foreign

conquest and subjugation, Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared;—a power which has dotted the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."—Mr. Webster asserted and vindicated, in the clearest manner, not only the right, but the duty, of the Senate, to defend the public liberty against encroachment, and to express its opinions whenever it believed such encroachment to have taken place. The Senate had acted in its legislative, and not in its judicial capacity, and in this action it had only defended its own just authority and that of the co-ordinate branch of the Legislature. He examined closely, and denounced with majestic emphasis, the extraordinary doctrines put forward by the President concerning the theory of his relations to the other branches of the Government, and to the People,—declaring that if these doctrines were true, it was "idle to talk any longer about any such thing as a government of laws. We have no government of laws—we have no legal responsibility. We have an Executive, consisting of one person, wielding all official power, and responsible only as Cromwell was responsible when he broke up Parliament, or Bonaparte when he dissolved the Assembly of France."

The speech elicited the warmest commendations from distinguished men in every section of the country. Chancellor Kent exhausted the language of eulogy in extolling its merits. Governor Tazewell,

of Virginia, who had seldom concurred with Mr. Webster in his views upon public topics, thanked him cordially, and declared that he agreed with him throughout. During the same session Mr. Webster made frequent speeches upon various topics of interest, as they arose in the course of business, and wrote also a very able report on the Finances, on behalf of the Committee, of which he was a member. In 1835 he spoke at length upon the French Spoliation bill;—the power of removal from and appointments to office, insisting that the President could not rightfully remove from office without the consent of the Senate; and upon resolutions proposed by Mr. Benton, providing for the national defence, and especially upon the action the President had taken to secure their favorable consideration. He also drew up and presented a Protest against the action of the Senate, in adopting a motion to expunge from its records the resolutions by which, in 1834, it had expressed its disapprobation of the President's course in removing the deposits.

In November, 1836, Mr. Van Buren was elected President, to succeed General Jackson. During that winter, although the currency question and others, which had grown out of it, continued to occupy the attention of Congress and the country, and although Mr. Webster spoke frequently upon them as they came up for discussion, no great topic called for special effort. In February he accepted an invitation, from a very large number of merchants, professional men and others in the City of New-York, to attend a large public meeting. His speech, delivered on this occa-

sion in Niblo's Saloon, on the 15th of March, 1837, embraced a comprehensive view of all the measures by which General Jackson's administration had been distinguished. He spoke at length of the Tariff, Internal Improvements, &c., and called the attention of the country to the movements which were on foot for the annexation of Texas to the United States. He declared his opposition to that measure, mainly on account of his "entire unwillingness to do anything that should extend the Slavery of the African race, on this Continent, or add other Slave-holding States to this Union. But the main part of his speech related to the action of the Administration in regard to the financial condition of the country. After the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Webster made a rapid tour through the Western States, in the course of which he was greeted by the most cordial welcome on the part of the people, and addressed large meetings at Wheeling, Va., Madison, Ind., and other places.

President Van Buren came into office on the 4th of March, 1837. One of his first acts was to call an extra session of Congress, which met in September, to provide for the serious emergencies created by the almost simultaneous suspension of specie payments by the banks, throughout the country, in the month of May. At the meeting of Congress, the Independent Treasury System was brought forward by the Administration, which proposed to dispense altogether with the aid of banks, to provide a distinct set of officers to take charge of the public money, and to exact specie in payment of all public dues. Mr. Webster opposed the whole system, as imprac-

ticable and certain to prove in the highest degree injurious to the interests of the country. In a long and able speech at that session, he set forth his view of the duties of the General Government in regard to the Currency. The measure did not pass at the extra session.

At the next regular session, on the 27th of December, Mr. Calhoun offered a resolution against the interference of Congress with slavery in the District of Columbia, declaring that it would be a "direct and dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slaveholding States." To this Mr. Clay, on the 10th of January, 1838, offered a substitute, declaring that such interference would "be a violation of the faith implied in the cessions by the States of Virginia and Maryland, a just cause of alarm to the people of the slaveholding states, and have a direct and inevitable tendency to disturb and endanger the Union." Mr. Webster opposed both upon the ground that he could see nothing in the act of cession, nothing in the Constitution, and nothing in the history of this or any other transaction, implying any limitation upon the power of Congress to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the ceded territory in all cases whatsoever.

On the 16th of January, a bill was introduced into the Senate by Mr. Wright, to establish the Independent Treasury system; which came up for its second reading on the 30th. Mr. Wright, in advocating the passage of the bill, had taken ground against the allegation that Congress had anything to do with providing a currency for the people. "Let the Government," said he, "attend to its own business,

and let the people attend to theirs. Let the Government take care that it secures a sound currency for its own use, and let it leave all the rest to the States and to the people." These "ominous sentences" were the key-note of the speech which Mr. Webster made in opposition to the bill on the next day. He denounced the sentiment which they expressed as utterly unbecoming a Republican Government, and opposed the bill as in the highest degree injurious to the public interest. On the 15th of February, Mr. Calhoun, who had, at the extra session, intimated his purpose to support the Sub-Treasury Bill, and had issued a letter to his constituents upon the subject during the recess, replied to Mr. Webster. This elicited from Mr. Webster, on the 12th of March, another speech on the same subject, much more elaborate and complete than the first. He discussed at length the relations of capital and labor in this country, the uses of the credit system, the progress of the country in agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and the extent to which this progress was due to the system of credit, and the absolute necessity to both the Government and the people of a sound Bank paper currency. He vindicated, by constitutional exposition and by recurrence to history, the right of the Government to use banks in the custody and transmission of its Funds, and pointed out the disastrous consequences which could not but result from the introduction of so different a system as that which the bill in question proposed to establish. He closed by referring to the speech of Mr. Calhoun, and by a very sharp examination of the course of that gentleman during

his public career. On this and other questions of public interest, Mr. Calhoun replied on the 22d of March, and spoke disparagingly of Mr. Webster's course during the last war with Great Britain. Mr. Webster rejoined at once, with force and effect.

In the Spring of 1839, Mr. Webster visited Europe, for the first and only time in his life,—making a hasty tour through England, Scotland and France. He was received with marked attention and with every mark of the most distinguished consideration. He attended several public festivals, and among them the first Triennial celebration of the Royal Agricultural Society at Oxford, on the 18th of July. He gave special attention during his tour to the condition of Agriculture, to the subject of Currency, and to the condition of the laboring classes; and the results of his study of these subjects are traceable in many of his subsequent speeches.

Previous to his departure, Mr. Webster had prepared a letter to the Whig National Convention which assembled during his absence, withdrawing his name as a candidate for the Presidency. General Harrison was nominated, and after a few weeks the whole country became intensely agitated with the contest between him and Mr. Van Buren. Mr. Webster returned before the election and took an active part in the contest. The derangement in the currency, the depression of labor which had resulted, the apprehensions entertained of the effect of the Sub-Treasury System upon the industry of the country, and other circumstances, laid the basis for a more exciting political canvass than the country has ever

witnessed before or since. At Saratoga, on the 19th of August, 1840, Mr. Webster addressed an immense meeting upon these subjects and other issues involved in the contest. On the 10th of September, he presided over a vast concourse of people assembled at Bunker Hill, and read a declaration of "Whig Principles and Purposes," which he had drawn up for the occasion. On the 28th of September, he made a speech from the steps of the Exchange in Wall-street, New-York, principally upon the financial issues involved. And on the 5th of October, he made a very eloquent address upon the general subject at Richmond, Virginia. All these speeches were marked by Mr. Webster's characteristics, strong reasoning, the utmost felicity of language, and the most imposing grandeur of manner and of style. With the result the country is familiar. General Harrison was elected President by an overwhelming popular majority, and came into office on the 4th of March, 1841.

MR. WEBSTER AS SECRETARY OF STATE.

The inauguration of General Harrison, in 1841, was the inauguration of a new era in the life of Mr. Webster. Mr. Clay, his great competitor in the political race, had distanced him in diplomatic honors. The treaty of Ghent had added the fame of the negotiator to that of the promising orator and statesman, which the colossal Kentuckian had been fortunate enough to secure in the first stages of his career. Mr. Webster had graduated in every other department of statesmanship; had appropriated the highest

rewards of resplendent success at the bar and in the forum; had won the just renown of patriotism, proved equal to the preservation of the Union at an imminent crisis; and, indeed, thoroughly matured his reputation before he proceeded to still higher exhibitions of his extraordinary powers. The remaining chapters of his biography form a perfect record of the most important events in the history of the national diplomacy down to the period of the statesman's death. In the formation of his Cabinet, General Harrison was prompted not only by his personal predilections, but by the obvious sense of a large section of the Whig party, to make Mr. Webster the nucleus. The Treasury Department was accordingly tendered to that gentleman, but he declined it, intimating at the same time his readiness to accept the Department of State. Notwithstanding the enormous responsibility devolving upon the former office, in consequence of the universal expectation that relief for the monetary distresses of the country was to emanate from that quarter, it was no consideration of indolence that induced Mr. Webster to prefer the latter. Our foreign relations were as sadly deranged as the finances. Mr. Van Buren's administration, so far from contributing to their adjustment, had, by pursuing the devious and hyper-cautious policy, which uniformly marked it, wrapped them in almost hopeless confusion. To a majority of the questions requiring immediate attention Great Britain was a party. Some of these difficulties were of a chronic nature; of others the symptoms were acute. The Northeastern Boundary had been the subject of con-

troversy for nearly half a century. The treaty of 1783 had left it involved in obscurity. A convention entered into in 1793 had determined a small portion of the line, viz.: that reaching from the Atlantic to the head-waters of the St. Croix, but the remainder was as unknown as the wilderness through which it passed. Another Convention, ten years later, prosecuted the subject further, by endeavoring to fix the whole boundary as far as the Rocky Mountains; but the acquisition of Louisiana rendering our Government doubtful about the extent of its rights at the Westward, the negotiation was broken off, until some explorations might be made. The matter stood thus until the Treaty of Ghent, when it was agreed to appoint a joint Commissioner to survey the line, and, in case of any disagreement, to select an arbitrator, whose decision should be final. The survey was made, and so was the report. There *was* disagreement, and while Mr. Clay was Secretary of State, in 1827, the question was submitted to the arbitrament of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands. That potentate reported in 1831; and his report was as unsatisfactory to the Cabinet of Washington as to that of St. James. The parties agreed to disagree; and we need not be surprised that, surrounded as it was with financial embarrassments and internal difficulties, which its own headlong policy had created, the Administration of General Jackson found no time to proceed with the calendar of unfinished business. A long and desultory correspondence between Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State under Mr. Van Buren, and Mr. Fox, the British Envoy, only augmented

the trouble. Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, was characteristically vexatious and difficult. Proposition after proposition emanated alternately from either Government, always involving the notion of tedious surveys, and no less tedious arbitrations; but the plan of neither suited the other, and they occupied the relations of two divergent orbs, to use Mr. Webster's own simile, which had to travel the whole circle before they could again meet. Such was the state of the whole subject when it descended to the Administration of General Harrison, bitterly aggravated, however, by the impatience and jealousy which had sprung up among the residents upon the debateable territory. Hostilities were daily expected; and the legislature of Maine had even gone so far as to provide for the arming and equipment of a large military force, disguised by the name of a "civil posse," to defend the supposed American frontier. No other than the most energetic action on the part of the Federal Government could prevent hostilities.

The Oregon frontier was also the subject of much anxiety, as the territory was rapidly filling with settlers. Much ill feeling prevailed at the frequent visits to which American vessels, on the coast of Africa, were subjected by British cruisers, under pretence of ascertaining their innocence of the Slave-trade. The case of Alexander McLeod, arising out of the seizure of the *Caroline*, in 1837, had, like every thing else of real importance, remained unhandled by Mr. Van Buren's Cabinet. In fact, a point in our external relations had been reached, when immediate negotiation was the alternative of war.

Our Minister to London entertained so lively a sense of the danger as to notify the Commander of our fleet in the Mediterranean of the probable approach of hostilities.

Mr. Webster found himself face to face with these pressing questions when he entered upon his duties. He grappled with them at once. The case of Alexander McLeod was laid before him, in an urgent letter from Mr. Fox, on the 12th of March, 1841. McLeod was about to stand a trial for his life before the State Courts of New-York, upon a charge of murder. The British Government avowed the seizure of the *Caroline* as an official act, thereby relieving any individual serving under its flag on that occasion of any criminal charge, and demanded the release of McLeod. Had he been executed, there is no doubt that war would have ensued. Mr. Webster, acknowledging the justice of the demand, but unable to interfere with the legal tribunals of an individual State, notified Mr. Fox of his desire to assist in the liberation of the prisoner, and Mr. Crittenden, then, as now, Attorney-General, was dispatched to New-York to assist in the defence. A verdict of acquittal solved the whole difficulty.

Early in the summer of 1841, Mr. Webster reopened the question of the Northeastern Boundary, by inviting the British Government to negotiate upon the new basis of a conventional line. The proposition was received at London at the moment when the Melbourne Ministry was about to relinquish office; and it met with no response until the following December, when Lord Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary in

the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, acquainted Mr. Everett, our minister at St. James, with the intention of Her Majesty's Government to send a special envoy to the United States, in order to adjust all unsettled questions. Lord Ashburton, the agent selected, was recommended not only by his acquaintance with American character and affairs, but by his personal friendship for Mr. Webster, formed during the visit of the latter to England in 1839. Lord Ashburton arrived in Washington in April, 1842. Mr. Webster had already applied to the governments of Maine and Massachusetts to appoint commissioners who should participate in and sanction the negotiation; and the question, with all its collateral issues, was at once entered upon. The State papers which emanated from Mr. Webster in the course of this transaction, are among the most masterly productions of American intellect. They embrace the whole rationale of the subjects they successively treat, stated in terms so lucid, and with judgment so correct, as to form a new era in the history of International law. The treaty itself, undoubtedly accomplished all that could be accomplished at the time. Lord Ashburton was not prepared to enter upon the subject of the Oregon boundary; and that was the only question which the convention left unsettled. The boundary upon the Northeast was fixed on the basis of a conventional line, approved by the Commissioners of Maine and Massachusetts, the parties more immediately interested. The Right of Search was disfranchised; and, as a substitute, both nations engaged to sustain sufficient squadrons on the African coast

to repress the slave trade. An agreement for the reciprocal surrender of fugitives from justice was framed; and the minor questions, relating to the capture of the *Caroline* and the case of the *Creole*, were the subject of highly satisfactory correspondence, which has effectually prevented, and will always, it was imagined, discourage a recurrence of similar transactions. The labors of the negotiators were terminated on the 9th of August, 1842, and two days after the treaty was laid before the Senate. The Committee upon Foreign Relations, of which Hon. William C. Rives was chairman, reported it on the 15th, without amendment, and on the 20th, the Senate assented to the treaty, unamended, by a vote of Yeas 39, Nays 9. Among the affirmative votes we find the names of Messrs. J. C. Calhoun, Rufus Choate, John M. Clayton, John J. Crittenden, George Evans, William R. King, W. P. Mangum, William C. Preston, W. C. Rives, N. P. Tallmadge, Silas Wright, Levi Woodbury. In the negative, the only notable names were those of Messrs. Benton and Buchanan.

The treaty of Washington, the ratifications of which were presently afterwards exchanged in London, classes with the most remarkable State papers of the time. The quintuple treaty between the five great powers for the suppression of the slave trade, which was signed in Dec. 1841, fell to the ground, in the presence of the better suggestions contained in the American document. The clause relative to the surrender of fugitives, has been reproduced in several conventions framed for that specific purpose, between

the various states of Europe. Disputes of tedious duration were laid to rest by it; others exciting an extravagant popular feeling, and promising to end in an ill-timed resort to arms, were for ever quieted. It is to be regretted that several points, which Mr. Webster deemed satisfactorily adjusted by the correspondence between himself and Lord Ashburton, had not been more definitely secured by articles in the treaty. The seizure of the *Caroline*, and the treatment of the crew of the *Creole*, both involved questions of international right, in which the honor of our flag was deeply interested. Lord Ashburton, it is true, conceded the irregularity of those acts; and so long as the correspondence is remembered, it may prevent any repetition. But there would have been a stronger assurance, if the treaty itself had embodied the understanding. It was of course the policy of Lord Palmerston and the English opposition, to denounce the treaty, as sacrificing the interests of Great Britain. The subject led to an animated debate in the House of Commons, and the Ministry sustained a severe shock in the encounter. But the Whigs failed to prevent its ratification. At home and abroad, Mr. Webster was at once recognized as one of the foremost diplomatists of the day. His reputation became a European one; and if the expression of satisfaction throughout this country was less vivacious than might have been anticipated, the fact must be accounted for by the unpopularity of the administration with which he was connected; Gen. Harrison having died, and been succeeded by John Tyler within a month after his inauguration.

While the negotiations with Lord Ashburton were pending, other external questions divided the attention of the Secretary of State. Our relations with Mexico were precarious. While on the one hand our Government was pressing the liberation of several American citizens, who had attended the unfortunate Texan expedition against Santa Fé, the Government of Mexico appealed to that of Washington, to repress the southern emigration to Texas, which swelled the armies of that Republic to an extent, which threatened not only to make the conquest impossible for the largest force Mexico could raise, but to expose that confederation to invasion and dissolution. The correspondence of Mr. Webster with Gen. Waddy Thompson, then Envoy at the city of Mexico, and with Sig. De Bocanegra, the Mexican Foreign Secretary, embraces a clear and eloquent statement of the rights and duties of the two nations under such circumstances. The Mexican Minister was less respectful in the tone of his communications than was fitting the dignity of our Government, and Mr. Webster closed the correspondence with a reiterated averment of our entire neutrality, and an expression of unwillingness to have any further intercourse upon the subject. At the same time, the case of the Spanish brig *Amistad* remained unsettled on the files of the Department, where it had been left by the previous administration. The vessel had been found by one of our home squadron, lying close to the American coast, and in the possession of a band of negroes, who had murdered the officers, and were too unskilful to manage the ship. It was brought

into port and a claim for salvage stated against it. While the matter was in this posture, the Chevalier d'Argaiz, the Spanish Minister, addressed the Secretary of State, protesting against the reference of the case to the Courts, when, as he maintained, it should be treated by the Executive, as relating directly to treaty obligations. This letter led to prolonged correspondence, in which Mr. Webster defended the course pursued by his government so successfully as to silence, if not satisfy, the Spanish Envoy. And as a portion of the diplomatic history of the period, we must not omit mention of the admirable instructions addressed to Mr. Caleb Cushing, when that gentleman was about to embark on the delicate mission of opening relations with China; nor the correspondence with the Portuguese Envoy, upon the subject of duties upon foreign wines. In both of these papers, relatively unimportant as they undoubtedly are, the extensive information, and comprehensive views of the statesman, were brought into vivid relief.

As completing the history of this era of American politics, we are obliged to refer to two magnificent displays of his rhetorical powers, which Mr. Webster, the orator, felt called upon to make on behalf of Mr. Webster, the statesman. Returning, after the arduous duties of the summer, to enjoy a few weeks of relaxation at Marshfield, he was obliged to listen to a pressing invitation from his Boston admirers, that he should address them publicly on the foreign and domestic policy of the country. The discourse was delivered to a crowded audience, in Fa-

neuil Hall, on the 22d of September, 1842. It is needless to say, that it traversed the whole ground with masterly skill, distinctness, and compactness of expression, and that the recent negotiations received that luminous exposition and earnest vindication, which was less needed perhaps in Massachusetts than elsewhere, where the subject was less familiarly understood. Partisan bitterness, however, denied the question any rest from controversy. It was agitated among other electioneering elements in the canvass of 1844, and in 1846, when in the Senate, Mr. Webster found his political opponents unsparing of their objections against the Treaty. In April, of that year, he took occasion to address the Senate in justification of that measure. Mr. Charles Jared Ingersoll, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, had made the treaty, and the American negotiator, the topic of virulent diatribes before that body, never allowing his arguments to fall short where a ready calumny was at hand to piece them out. Messrs. Dix and Dickinson, the Senators from New-York, also attacked the ex-Secretary; the latter in an elaborate speech, to which, when published, a re-hash of Mr. Ingersoll's godless inventions was found to be appended. The reply of Mr. Webster will always rank among the most splendid and characteristic productions of his mind. Reviewing the history of the difficulties adjusted by the treaty, he scored the Democratic party thoroughly for the remissness, which had left them for the administration of Mr. Tyler to settle; and having amply vindicated that settlement beyond the possibility of further ca-

vil, he turned upon his assailants, and exhausted upon them the stores of his indignant elocution. Mr. Ingersoll received the full weight of the charge. Never was such a scathing torrent of contempt, ridicule, sarcasm, and vituperation, poured out upon an individual head. Clearing away with a rapid hand the sheltering falsehoods beneath which the Pennsylvanian had concealed himself, the orator held him up naked to the world, and tortured him with all the sharp weapons which the armories of rhetoric supply to a just indignation. Mr. Ingersoll, who had been more or less in public life, for the forty preceding years, disappeared after this castigation. He has since confined himself to domestic and professional associations.

But Mr. Webster's connection with the Cabinet of Mr. Tyler was never redeemed from censure by the success of his negotiations. Mr. Tyler had been in office but a short time when it began to be apparent that his administration would not be conducted in a manner to command the undivided support of the party which had raised him to power. While in the Senate, during the great controversy between State Rights and the Federal Government, he had espoused the cause of Mr. Calhoun, and had acted in general harmony with his views. His course then had prevented his enjoying the full confidence of the Whigs, at a later day; and his accession to the Presidency soon put his fidelity to the test. Mr. Clay took an early opportunity to introduce a bill for the Charter of a National Bank. A very large portion of the Whig party, during the canvass, had strenu-

ously resisted the endeavor to present the Bank as a measure to which the party should be considered pledged. The utter ruin which had overtaken the Old Bank of the United States, and the conviction that, during the latter years of its existence, it had, by mismanagement and corrupt practices, richly deserved the universal odium with which its memory was covered, had led them to foresee the unpopularity which any attempt to create a new one would inevitably incur. But, in spite of this distrust, the overwhelming parliamentary and party strength of Mr. Clay enabled him to carry the bill triumphantly through Congress, and it was presented to President Tyler for his signature. This was withheld, and the bill was vetoed. Mr. Clay at once denounced the President to the indignation of his party, and a whirlwind of obloquy and detestation was at once aroused, before which a much stronger spirit than President Tyler's would have been forced to bend. Mr. Webster, who was not free from suspicion that personal ambition on the part of Mr. Clay had quite as much to do with this crusade as regard for the public good, with more courage than success, endeavored to breast the storm. He was earnest and unremitting in his efforts to bring the Whigs into a more tolerant and compliant mood. At a gathering of the leading Whigs of Congress, had at his own house, he strongly urged upon them the folly of throwing away all the results of the great popular victory they had gained, because they had been disappointed in a single measure, and that, too, one of questionable necessity and expediency. His efforts were unavailing. The thunder of

Mr. Clay's denunciations drowned his tones of remonstrance—the whole Whig sentiment of the country swayed respondent to his tempestuous wrath. Mr. Webster's colleagues in the Cabinet indignantly tendered their resignations, hurling at the President, as they left, the most dishonoring charges of party faithlessness and personal falsehood.

Strong in the conviction of the rectitude of his own purposes, unwilling to yield to what he deemed a transient ebullition of popular feeling, and profoundly penetrated by the importance of pending negotiations with foreign powers, Mr. Webster determined, against the most resolute entreaties of his political friends, to retain his seat, and he did so retain it for about two years. For this he was severely censured by the great body of the Whig party, and especially by the adherents of Mr. Clay, who were not over charitable in the construction they put upon his motives, or in the epithets they applied to his conduct. During his continuance in office, a State Convention of the Whigs of Massachusetts assembled in Boston, to nominate candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, at the State election. Hon. Abbot Lawrence presided over its deliberations, and a series of resolutions were adopted, expressing in strong terms disapprobation of the course of Mr. Tyler, and declaring, on behalf of the Whigs of Massachusetts, a "*full and final separation* from the President of the United States." Not long afterwards, Mr. Webster being on a visit to Boston, was tendered by the Whigs—many of whom had been prominent in the Convention—the compli-

ment of a public dinner. He declined the dinner, but expressed a willingness to meet his fellow-citizens at Faneuil Hall. The meeting was appointed for Sept. 30, and was attended by an immense concourse of the people of Boston. Hon. Jonathan Chapman, Mayor of the city, presided; and, upon presenting Mr. Webster to the assembly, addressed him with eloquent compliments for his public services, but with special allusion to what he styled the "pointed meaning of the occasion." He thanked him for the honorable attitude in which, "so far as *his* department was concerned, he had placed his country before the world. We are sure," said he, "whatever may befall the country, that you will be ready to sacrifice everything for her good, save *honor*, and on that point, amidst the perplexities of these perplexing times, we shall be at ease; for we know that he who has so nobly maintained his country's honor, may safely be intrusted with his own."

Mr. Webster opened his reply with one of those exquisitely beautiful sentences which are scattered so profusely throughout his speeches. "I know not how it is, Mr. Mayor," said he, "but there is something in the echoes of these walls, or in this sea of upturned faces which I behold before me, or in the genius that always hovers over this place, fanning ardent and patriotic feeling by every motion of its wings—I know not how it is, but there is something that excites me strangely, deeply, before I even begin to speak." Recurring then to the history of his life, to his labors in their midst, and to his public services in the various positions he had been called

to fill; after a clear, condensed statement of the diplomatic labors in which he had been engaged, he referred directly to the remark of the Mayor, that he might be safely intrusted to take care of his own honor and reputation. "I am," said he, "exactly of his opinion. I am quite of opinion that, on a question touching my own honor and character, as I am to bear the consequences of the decision, I had a great deal better be trusted to make it. No man feels more highly the advantage of the advice of friends than I do; but on a question so delicate and important as that, I like to choose myself the friends who are to give me advice; and upon this subject, gentlemen, I shall leave you as enlightened as I found you." With this rather unpromising preface, he proceeded to remark upon the "outpouring of wrath" to which he had been subjected for remaining in the President's Cabinet. He was "a little hard to coax, but as to being driven that was out of the question." He had chosen to trust to his own judgment, and thinking he was at a post where he was in the service of the country and could do it good, he had staid there. Again apologizing for entering upon topics on which his opinions might be different from those of his audience, he cited the resolutions passed "by the most respectable Convention of Whig delegates," which had met in Boston a few days before. He noticed among them a declaration, made on behalf of the Whigs of the State, a "full and final separation from the President." Whigs had a right to speak their individual sentiments everywhere; but whether they might assume to speak for others

on a point on which those others had given them no authority, is another question. "I am a Whig," said he—"I have always been a Whig, and I always will be one; and if there are any who would turn me out of the pale of that communion, let them see who will get out first. I am ready to submit to all decisions of Whig conventions on subjects on which they are authorized to make decisions. But it is quite another question, whether a set of gentlemen, however respectable they may be as individuals, shall have the power to bind me on matters which I have not agreed to submit to their decision." He went on to say that three years of the President's term of office still remained; that great public interests required his attention; and asked whether all his measures upon these subjects, however useful they might be, were to be opposed by the Whig party of Massachusetts, right or wrong. There were a great many Massachusetts Whigs also in office—Collectors, District Attorneys, Postmasters, Marshals. What was to become of them in this separation? Mr. Everett, our Minister in England, was *he* expected to come home on this separation, and yield his place to somebody else? "And in regard to the individual who addresses you—what do his brother Whigs mean to do with him? Where do they mean to place me? Generally, when a divorce takes place, the parties divide their children. I am anxious to know where, in the case of this divorce, *I* shall fall." Mr. Webster said he had alluded to this matter because he could not fail to see that the resolution had an intentional or an unintentional bearing on his position.

It meant that if he should choose to remain in the President's councils he must cease to be a Massachusetts Whig. "And I am quite ready," said he, "to put that question to the people of Massachusetts." He proceeded to say that there was too general a disposition to postpone all attempts to do good to the country to some future day. Many Whigs thought they saw a prospect of having more power than they then had. But there was a Whig majority in Congress, and the substantial fruits of the great victory of 1840 could, with moderate and prudent councils, still be secured. But nothing but cordial and fraternal union could save the party from renewed prostration.

Mr. Webster's speech on this occasion was one of great power, and it produced an effect upon the sentiment of the country. But it could not turn back the tide of indignant public feeling which had been turned at the outset, by the bold impetuosity of Mr. Clay and the seconding efforts of the retiring Secretaries, against the President. He gradually took ground against the party which had driven him out, and, after an imbecile endeavor to purchase a renomination from the party to which he had deserted, became its open ally and subservient tool. Mr. Webster resigned office in 1843, and remained in private life during the remainder of the Administration. He was succeeded by Mr. Calhoun, who was elected by the President for the special purpose of carrying forward the Annexation of Texas, a measure which he had been led to espouse with great earnestness, though the steps towards its accomplishment were as

yet concealed from the knowledge of the country. Mr. Webster, on leaving office, endeavored to arouse public attention to the dangers that were impending from this quarter; but his efforts were not attended with marked success. It was only upon the eve of another Presidential contest that the question assumed its just proportions in the public eye.

During his retirement from office much of Mr. Webster's attention was engaged in professional pursuits, and the year 1844 was marked by several brilliant exhibitions of his popular and forensic oratory. Two arguments, the one before the Supreme Court of the United States, and the other before that of Massachusetts, are in his very happiest vein. The first was delivered in February, in the case of F. F. Vidal and others, *vs.* the Executors of the will of Stephen Girard,—a case in which property to the value of millions was involved. The main ground taken by Mr. Webster, on behalf of the heirs, against the validity of the will, was that the College at Philadelphia, endowed by the will, was not a charity, because established on Atheistical principles, and therefore not entitled to the protection of the laws. This proposition was supported with all the aids of learning and ingenuity; and on American soil no more eloquent vindication of religion and its ministers has ever been uttered. The speech, in a pamphlet form, was circulated extensively among the religious world. It remains among the host of evidences he has left us, of the wide scope and infinite diversity of his talents, and the respect he always entertained for the institutions of religion. The argument at Boston,

in the case of the *Providence Railroad Company against the City of Boston*, is, from its nature, a strictly legal effort, and therefore requires no especial notice here. In June, of 1844, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill and the completion of the monument were celebrated with much éclat at Boston. The speech of Mr. Webster, who had baptized the first stone of the column with a stream of eloquence that shall remain classic while the monument and the language endure, was exceedingly appropriate, and though lacking the fire and imaginative splendor of his earlier efforts, abounds with passages of remarkable vigor and beauty.

The Presidential canvass of 1844, opened by the nomination of Mr. Clay, by acclamation, in the Whig Convention at Baltimore. Mr. Webster, being in that city at the time, made a speech indicating his earnest desire for the triumph of the Whig party and its principles. Mr. Van Buren, in a long letter written just upon the eve of the Democratic Convention, had taken ground decidedly against the annexation of Texas. For this offence, among others, he had been set aside as a candidate, and Mr. Polk was nominated for the Presidency. Mr. Clay had also taken ground against annexation; and the canvass was conducted, to a very great extent, in all sections of the country, upon this issue. Mr. Webster made several public addresses upon the subject. At Albany, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, he spoke to large assemblies of people, though in all cases he gave attention mainly to questions relating to the commercial, financial and industrial interests of the country. There is abundant

reason to believe that if Mr. Clay had been content with his first declaration of opinion upon the subject of annexation, he would have been elected. Subsequent explanations, made to remove anticipated objections to his position in Alabama, and other Southern States, deprived him, to a great extent, of the benefit which that position gave him at the North.

At the opening of the Congress of 1845, Mr. Webster resumed his seat in the Senate, having been chosen to succeed Mr. Choate. He found under discussion some of the gravest questions that had ever agitated the country. The Oregon Boundary, and the results of Texan Annexation, were urgent; and popular feeling had been worked up to an extraordinary pitch of excitement about both. The Democratic Platform had declared in favor of ultra measures. It only remained for the Whigs, in Senate and House, to play the moderate *rôle* of a minority, and as far as possible restrain the violence that threatened to bring on our heads two wars, for either of which we were totally unprepared, at the same hapless moment. The Tariff bill of 1842 was likewise in imminent danger; and in every point of view, the posture of the party in relation to the conduct of both the external and internal policy of the Government, was distressing and difficult. Mr. Webster was of course found in the van of the minority. Upon the Oregon question, he maintained the line of adjustment to which the Administration and its supporters were finally obliged to descend. Having opposed the Annexation resolutions, he was of course opposed to the precipitate measures by which we were plunged into the war with

Mexico. And on the Tariff bill, he occupied the position he had always occupied, by defending the Whig policy to the very last. Of the eminently judicious policy of the Whigs with regard to the prosecution of the war, Mr. Webster deserves the credit. While protesting against the measure in its origin and progress, they patriotically sustained the Administration with the most liberal supplies, and facilitated every approach to the only term then attainable, an honorable and remunerative peace.

The settlement of the Oregon Boundary dispute, which had existed for many years, was effected during the first year of Mr. Polk's administration, by an amicable division of the Territory to which both England and the United States laid claim. A bill was promptly introduced and passed the House of Representatives to organize a Government for the Territory thus acquired. When it reached the Senate, it was amended, by making the Missouri Compromise a part of it—excluding Slavery above, and admitting it below, the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude. This amendment was disagreed to in the House; and when the bill came back, a long discussion was had upon a motion that the Senate should recede. On the 12th of August, 1848, Mr. Webster spoke in favor of the motion, insisting upon the right of Congress to exclude Slavery from this Territory, upon the expediency of exercising that right, upon the groundlessness of the complaint on the part of the South that their property was excluded, and against any further extension of slave territory. Upon the question of extending Southern property, he said that the whole

complaint was simply this: "The Southern States have peculiar laws, and by those laws there is property in slaves. This is purely local. The real meaning, then, of Southern gentlemen, in making this complaint, is, that they cannot go into the Territories of the United States carrying with them their own peculiar local law—a law which creates property in persons. This demand I, for one, shall resist." He closed his remarks by laying down three propositions:

First. That when this Constitution was adopted, nobody looked for any new acquisition of territory to be formed into slaveholding States.

Second. That the principles of the Constitution prohibited, and were intended to prohibit, and should be construed to prohibit, all interference of the General Government with Slavery, as it existed, and as it still exists, in the States. And

Third. Looking to the operation of these new acquisitions, which have in this great degree had the effect of strengthening that interest in the South by the addition of *five* States, I feel that there is nothing unjust, nothing of which any honest man can complain, if he is intelligent; I feel that there is nothing with which the civilized world, if they take notice of so humble a person as myself, will reproach me when I say, as I said the other day, that I have made up my mind for one, that under no circumstances will I consent to the further extension of the area of Slavery in the United States, or to the further increase of Slave representation in the House of Representatives.

The Senate finally receded from its amendment, and the bill passed with a clause for ever excluding

Slavery from the Territory—in which form it received the signature of the President.

In the Spring of 1847, Mr. Webster visited the Southern States, passing rapidly through Virginia and North Carolina to South Carolina. At Charleston, he was honored by a complimentary dinner from the New England Society of that city, and similar hospitalities were paid him at Columbia, Augusta, and Savannah. He designed going to New Orleans, but ill health compelled him to return.

The Mexican war meantime had been prosecuted, by the skill and valor of the American arms, to a triumphant close. The capital and all the principal posts of the country were in our possession, and a treaty had been concluded by which Mexico ceded to us immense portions of her territory, comprising all of New Mexico and a large part of California. Mr. Webster, on the 22d of March, 1848, opposed the treaty, on the ground that it brought with it large accessions of territory which we did not need, which would only add new Slave States to the Union, which would bring in new States of comparatively small population, and thus vastly augment the power of the Senate over that of the House of Representatives, and thus destroy the just relation between the two, and prove in every way injurious to the country. "I think," said he, "I see a course adopted which is likely to turn the Constitution of the land into a deformed monster, into a curse rather than a blessing; in fact, a frame of an unequal Government, not founded on popular representation, not founded on equality, but on the grossest inequality; and I think that

this process will go on, or that there is *danger* that it will go on, until this Union shall fall to pieces. I resist it, to-day and always. Whoever falters or whoever flies, I continue the contest!" The treaty was ratified. New Mexico and California became parts of the United States; and the great question thence arising, to be submitted to the issues of a Presidential canvass, related to the nature of the territorial government under which they should be organized. The House insisted on the exclusion of slavery. The Senate resisted it; and between the two the whole question was left unsettled, and military power alone kept the territories from a state of anarchy.

The Democratic National Convention nominated General Cass for the Presidency, greatly to the disgust of the friends of Mr. Van Buren. The Whig Convention met at Philadelphia, and nominated General Taylor. Mr. Webster declined to be a candidate for the Vice Presidency, declaring himself a candidate for the first office, and his purpose to remain so until the representatives of the Whig party should decide otherwise. He was dissatisfied with the nomination of General Taylor, partly because he was opposed to making Presidents of military men, and partly because he believed that the condition of the country required the selection of a Northern man, known to be true in resisting the steady aggressions of Slavery. The result led him to despair of ever seeing the North *united;* and when the professedly exclusive friends of freedom in the territories, selected Mr. Van Buren as their candidate and re-

presentative, he was inclined to abandon all further hope of making any successful stand against the domination of the Slave-holding States. Falling back, therefore, upon the other issues which had divided the two political parties, he gave his support to the Whig candidate; taking care to say that it was not because he believed him to be the most fit and proper person for that position, but because he believed his election would be far better for the country than that of General Cass. General Taylor was elected.

Meantime the people of California, getting no Government from Congress, made one for themselves. They met in State Convention, and formed a Constitution, in which slavery was prohibited. This Constitution was accepted by the people at an election held for the purpose. President Taylor came into office on the 4th of March, 1849. Owing to a misunderstanding between them, growing out of accidental circumstances, which involved blame upon neither side, there were no confidential relations between the President and Mr. Webster. In the House of Representatives the Anti-Slavery proviso was insisted on as an essential feature of any Government for the territories that might be passed. This position was sustained by resolutions in all the non-Slaveholding States, by large public meetings and by Northern sentiment generally. The South felt highly indignant at these attempts to exclude Slavery from the new territories. A meeting of a majority of the members of Congress from the Slaveholding States was held at the Capital, at one of which Mr. Calhoun was appointed to draw up an address of the

Southern delegates to their constituents. The address thus prepared was afterwards adopted, and received the signature of forty-eight members of Congress from Southern States. These movements led to a very considerable excitement throughout the country, though neither the state of public feeling, nor the movements of any portion of the people, were as hostile or menacing to the peace of the country as had been witnessed on previous occasions of our history. Mr. Clay had presented a series of propositions, five in number, which were designed to be embodied in a single act, and to constitute one measure for compromising and adjusting the difficulty. President Taylor was understood to be in favor of acting upon each separately, and on its merits, doing whatever justice should dictate, and trusting to the attachment of the people, and the vigor of the powers with which the Constitution clothes the Government, to prevent any serious results. He was in favor of admitting California with the Constitution which the people had framed, and of leaving the territories to settle the question of admitting or excluding slavery for themselves. Deputations of Southern members of Congress waited upon him, with earnest remonstrances and equally earnest menaces; but neither shook his convictions or disturbed his purposes. The compromise measure of Mr. Clay failed to command the assent of Congress. And on the 7th of March, Mr. Webster made an extended and impressive speech upon the whole subject, intended to present a basis upon which all sections could consent to stand, and by which all future collisions might be

avoided. He proposed, as practical measures, nearly the plan of the President, namely: the admission of California, and the organization of Territorial Governments for New Mexico and Utah, without any excluding clause—urging that such a clause would, in this case, be superfluous. But he indicated a willingness to purchase the claim of Texas to a portion of New Mexico, which the President proposed to submit to the adjudication of the Supreme Court, and made sundry declarations of his own personal sentiments, indicating a strong disposition to make all possible concessions to Southern demands, for the sake of preserving the peace and stability of the Union. His speech on this occasion was exceedingly able, and awakened a degree of public interest fully equal to that of any of his previous efforts. Connected, to some extent, with these measures, was a bill amending the law of 1793 for the recovery of fugitive slaves, so as to make it more effectual. It was originally introduced by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, and received Mr. Webster's support, although he had prepared and designed to offer an amendment, securing to persons claimed as fugitives the benefit of a trial by jury, to test the question whether they owed service to their claimants.

We have good reason for believing that Mr. Webster at this time had been disabused of erroneous impressions that had led, as noticed above, to a partial estrangement between himself and the President; and that he had come to regard Gen. Taylor as the man best fitted by position, and by his views, to carry the country safely through the crisis. This, how-

ever, belongs to the secret history of those important events, and the time for writing that,—even if we were competent and possessed of the requisite material,—has not yet come. It is sufficient to say that if Gen. Taylor had lived, Mr. Webster would have been the acknowledged leader of the Administration in the Senate, and that affairs would undoubtedly have taken a different course. At this juncture, however, Gen. Taylor died, and Mr. Fillmore, then Vice-President, succeeded to the office. Mr. Webster was at once called by him, and by the voice of the country, to the post which he occupied at the time of his decease. The office was no longer oppressed with those burdens of unfinished business, which had encumbered it at the end of Mr. Van Buren's term. But it had nevertheless its share of peculiar responsibilities. The administration of Mr. Fillmore was required to enforce with the whole weight of its exalted influence the conditions of the Compromise, which were speedily enacted into laws. Some of those conditions offended the moral feelings and prejudices of one section of the Union: and the other pressed all the more eagerly for their relentless fulfilment. To no portions of the country were the Compromise measures more distasteful than to New England, and to Mr. Webster's own State. The Secretary, nevertheless, did not hesitate to lend the whole strength of his popularity and of his intellectual resources to reconcile the reluctant North. His zeal, perhaps, transcended the suggestions of personal and political expediency. Some of it was positively due to the malignant violence and keenness with

which his course had been hailed by Abolitionists and ultra Free-Soilers; but those who knew Mr. Webster most intimately, bear witness that the principal motive of his course from first to last was an unwavering conviction that the duration of the Union and the sanctity of the Constitution, depended upon entire acquiescence in those pacificatory conventions. The effect upon the state of feeling at the North was perhaps fortunate for the country; but it cannot be doubted that a large number of personal friends and veteran supporters of the statesman were thenceforward obliged to temper their admiration with some portion of regret.

It was only a few weeks after Mr. Webster's accession to the Secretaryship of State, that the letter of Chevalier Hulseman, in relation to an alleged interference of the American government in the internal affairs of Austria, was addressed to the Department. This document, famous only for the response it provoked, contained a recital of complaints preferred by the Imperial Court, in consequence of Mr. Dudley Mann's mission of observation to Austria and Hungary, and the reports made by that agent, in which language disrespectful to the Governments of Russia and Austria, was alleged to have been used; and the Austrian Chargé felt impelled to enter a protest against what his principals chose to regard as an act of impertinent intervention. The reply of Mr. Webster, which was withheld for some time as if to aggravate the contemptuous rejoinder by a preface of contemptuous silence, is fresh in every recollection. Its lofty and dignified tone, a tone indeed of haughty

condescension; the faithful and unanswerable refutation it offered to some of Mr. Hulseman's allegations, and the air with which controversy about others was declined; the rebuke administered to the Austrian Government for its despotic barbarity; the bold and unmistakable statement of the American policy toward a people ridding itself of such a yoke as that imposed upon the Hungarians; these traits, and the animated eloquence with which they were framed, constitute the note to the Austrian Chargé one of the finest papers in the archives of diplomacy. It will remain as a model for diplomatic controversy hereafter, where republican practice is called in question, and republican frankness is demanded to justify it. It will be regarded as the authority upon all matters of external policy. And scholars and general readers will recur to it as a pattern of literary elegance and intellectual brilliancy.

In May, 1851, Mr. Webster accompanying the President and his colleagues in the Cabinet, visited the State of New-York, on the occasion of celebrating the completion of the New-York and Erie Railroad. On reaching Dunkirk, he was detained there by the illness of his son, and compelled to separate from the rest of the party. At Buffalo he was complimented by a public dinner, at which he made an extended and admirable speech, mainly upon the rapid growth of that section of the State, with allusions to some of the leading topics that had recently engaged public attention. The next day, on the 22d, he addressed the people of Buffalo more directly upon the subjects which were then prominent in

the public mind, vindicating the policy of the Administration upon all points, and defending his own course. He was greeted also by large public gatherings of people at Rochester, Albany, and other points along the route, at all of which he made addresses more or less extended.

Very soon after his return to Washington, Mr. Webster's attention was called to our relations with Spain, in consequence of the expeditions against Cuba, to which General Lopez and a large number of American citizens fell victims. His offices, less promptly rendered than an impatient public sentiment demanded, procured the release of a large number of prisoners who had been carried to Spain, and subsequently obtained the discharge of Mr. John S. Thrasher, whose dubious citizenship evoked from the Secretary an able discussion of the law of domicil. The rough treatment of the Spanish Consul at New Orleans by the populace, inflamed by the cruelties practised upon the soldiers of the expedition by the Spanish authorities of Cuba, was likewise the subject of correspondence and reparation. The last year of Mr. Webster's life was occupied with several diplomatic questions of the highest importance, but which he was prevented from completing by the hand of death. These were the revival of the Clayton and Bulwer Treaty in relation to Central American affairs; the Tehuantepec Treaty; the question of the right of fishery; and that of the ownership of the Lobos Islands. As these are contemporary matters, and opinions about them still variable, because not founded upon the most ample supplies of infor-

mation, and as their consummation will now pass into other hands, we do not think proper to admit them into our estimate of the Statesman. We know nothing of the issue that might have been given to any of them had the illustrious diplomatist survived. It is not worth while, with the lights before us, to say any thing more than that the action of Mr. Webster was undoubtedly the result of entire devotion to what he believed to be the truest interests of the country, and that whatever room there may be to question the soundness of his conclusions, there is no reason to impeach his sincerity and integrity.

In tracing this outline of the biography of a man who fills in American history a place equal in honor and dignity, though differing in kind, with those occupied by Pitt, Fox, and Burke, in the history of England, we have been obliged to pass by many of those occasions when he came in more immediate contact with the people. In the published collection of his works, there are various orations, addresses, and letters, which excited the highest applause at the time of their publication, and remain as witnesses of the diversified qualities and resources of his mind. We might mention among these his eulogistic tributes to General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun; his various addresses to his friends in Boston and neighbors at Marshfield; his oration at the New Hampshire festival; his capital paper read last winter before the New-York Historical Society, and published in the *Daily Times;* his letter to Hon. Isaac Hill, and to our Minister at Constantinople, in relation to the release of the Hungarian refugees. No one of these

but illustrates some strong, masculine, but exquisitely sculptured feature of his Titanic intellect; and forms one of the many links by which he attracted to himself, not only the popular admiration, but the admiration, the esteem, the enthusiastic devotion of all educated men.

It would however be unjust to his memory to pass unnoticed his opinions and action in regard to the great event by which in future time the current year will be distinguished,—the visit of the Hungarian Kossuth to the United States. Mr. Webster had early evinced the warm interest which he felt in the welfare of that noble martyr to the cause of Constitutional Liberty in Hungary, by his letter of instructions to Hon. George P. Marsh, our Minister at Constantinople, directing him to use all the influence of his official position to prevent his surrender to the Austrian Government, and to permit his retirement to the United States. Governor Kossuth reached New-York on the 6th of December, 1851, and at once entered upon that great pilgrimage of romance, and of love to the crushed hopes and liberties of his native land, which stands without parallel in the history of the world. "For the first time," says the most eloquent American living, in speaking of his appeals to the pity of the people of this Republic,—"for the first time since the transcendent genius of Demosthenes strove with the downward age of Greece; or since the Prophets of Israel announced,—each tone of the hymn grander, sadder than before,—the successive footfalls of the approaching Assyrian, beneath whose spear the Law should cease and the vision be seen no

more; our ears, our hearts, have drank the sweetest, most mournful, most awful of the tones which man may ever utter, or may ever hear,—the eloquence of an Expiring Nation. When shall we be quite certain again, that the lyre of Orpheus did not kindle savage natures to a transient discourse of reason; did not suspend the labours and charm the pains of the damned; did not lay the guardian of the grave asleep, and bring back Eurydice from the region beyond the river, to the warm, upper air?" At the invitation of Congress, Kossuth visited Washington, and on the 7th of January, partook of a public banquet tendered to him by a large number of the members of both Houses. Mr. Webster was present on this occasion, and made a speech, in which, although restrained by the proprieties of his position, from making any allusion to the sentiments or intended action of the Government, he did not hesitate to declare his entire sympathy with the attempt of Hungary to achieve her independence, and his opinion that she was entitled, by her population, by her institutions, and by the valor of her people, to an independent national existence. He also referred to the speech which he made in the Senate of the United States, in 1824, upon the principles involved in the Greek revolution; and declared that he adhered to them in every respect, and was quite ready to apply them to whatever case might be presented. The citations we have made, in a previous portion of this paper, from that speech, supersede the necessity of dwelling further upon the specific purport of this declaration. In letters written, in reply to various invitations to attend public

meetings upon the subject, he expressed similar views with equal emphasis.

Mr. Webster has achieved high distinction in three apparently incompatible walks of life—walks that are incompatible to all but men of superior genius. As a lawyer, he has for very many years held the foremost rank. Surpassed by many in legal learning, by some in logical power, and by a few in the eloquence of his appeals to the jury, in the combination of all these great faculties, he stands unrivalled. As a statesman, in the most comprehensive meaning of that large word, no American, except Alexander Hamilton, can maintain a comparison with him. Mr. Calhoun had a more acute and metaphysical mind; Mr. Clay, with a more electric nature, had far greater sagacity in reading public sentiment, and in gaining command of the springs of popular attachment; and each of those great men held in more complete control the opinions and conduct of large masses of their countrymen. But in that large, liberal comprehensiveness which saw all around and all through every subject—which studied and judged every thing in all its relations, and in that high-toned, unbending, uncompromising dignity of thought, of language and of manner, with which he was always clothed, and which gave infinite impressiveness to every thing he did or said—neither of them, nor any other American, living or dead, was equal to him. His political career has been marked by greater consistency of principle than that of most of his distinguished cotemporaries, and by quite as close adherence to a single system of measures as is compatible

with wisdom in a science which is, in fact, only a science of expedients. Upon the question of the Tariff, he changed his policy—but only to meet changes in the business relations and interests of the section of the country for which he acted. At a still later day, during the struggles of 1850, for sectional supremacy, Mr. Webster held a different position from that which he occupied with such distinction during the similar convulsions of 1833. But the principles which he maintained on both these occasions were essentially the same: it was only upon the practical measures in which they were to be embodied, that he had changed. And, always—in all these cases and in all the acts of his life, in every thing he ever did or said, from the earliest day of his public service down to the latest syllable of his recorded time,—he lived, and moved, and had his being, under the domination of an ever-present love of Country, which knew no change, and left no act or word of his life unmarked by its presence and its power. A more thorough American never trod the continent than Daniel Webster. He loved his country; he bowed before the wisdom and holy patriotism of its founders and its fathers; he reverenced the Constitution which gave it national being and position in the view of the world; and he devoted all the energies of his life to its defence against whatever threatened, from any quarter, to weaken its foundations or impair its strength. For this high service, rendered with such matchless power, and fruitful of influences which will make themselves felt at every period of our future

history, he merits and will receive the profoundest gratitude of every heart.

But, besides the reputation which he won as a lawyer and a statesman, Mr. Webster has received the highest rank as a literary man. His speeches, his letters, his orations—all the products of his pen and the utterances of his tongue, will be studied and admired by future ages, not less for their consummate literary merit, than for the qualities more directly connected with the special purposes for which they were prepared. In the early part of his life, during his college days and for some years after, his style was exceedingly vicious and bombastic, to a degree which no one familiar only with his later productions would believe possible. There have been few men in this country of equally laborious and studious habits with Mr. Webster; and he devoted himself for successive years, with an earnest and resolute fidelity, to the correction and perfection of his style. He was fastidious to a remarkable degree in his choice of words, in the shaping of his sentences, and even in the punctuation and emphasis which should be given to them. And, although during his later years, as the effect of this rigid and relentless mental discipline, easy and graceful elegance of language had become so habitual with him as to seem devoid of all effort and study, he never laid aside this minute attention to his style, or suffered any point, however trifling, of critical accuracy to escape his notice. Instances of his conscientious exactitude, especially in the reports of his speeches, have repeatedly fallen under the observation of the present writer. A very foolish en-

deavor has been made by some of Mr. Webster's friends to create the impression that the great orations and speeches which have carried his celebrity all over the world, were made with little effort and trifling preparation. Even so judicious a writer as Mr. Everett, seeks to confirm the statement of Mr. March, that the reply to Hayne was the result of at most a few hours' reflection, and that all the notes he made for it were contained upon one side of a sheet of paper. This latter statement is true, so far as the notes from which he *spoke* were concerned; but the general impression conveyed in these representations is unjust to Mr. Webster, and calculated to induce very injurious theories and habits in the minds of the young. Mr. Webster had prepared himself for that debate with all his usual care. He knew a fortnight beforehand the points that would be made, the positions that would be assumed, and the parties that would be assailed. And we have no doubt that all those magnificent passages which live in the memory and glow in the heart of all who read them, were prepared beforehand, with the utmost care and the nicest discrimination in the choice of words. And the same thing is certainly true of many other of his most celebrated speeches.

But great as Mr. Webster was in all these high spheres of intellectual activity, no one who has ever had opportunities of judging will hesitate to say, that he was equally great in the more restricted department of *Conversation.* He was an accomplished scholar, especially conversant with the best portions of English literature, and more or less familiar with every subject

which engages attention. In a circle of friends, at table, or even in a *tête-à-tête* with a single person, his conversation was the richest and most instructive entertainment that can be conceived. He was sometimes a little too didactic to suit the ideal of a good converser; but no hearer ever complained of this as a fault. He expressed himself always, upon every occasion, and in making the most trifling remark, with that clearness, accuracy and weighty dignity which were inseparable from his nature. We cannot imagine a richer contribution to the literature of America and the world, than would be a record of Mr. Webster's conversations upon topics of public concern. No such perfect collection, of course, can ever be made. But those who were admitted to the high privilege of his intimate and confidential society, owe to the world some reminiscences of this great man, of whom the world can never know too much. For it is only thus that coming generations can receive that degree of instruction and advantage to which they have a claim, from Him who, in so emphatic a sense,

> ———" was not for an Age,
> But for all Time."

THE N. Y. DAILY TIMES "LEADER" ON THE DEATH OF MR. WEBSTER.

The event, which the whole country has, for a few days, been anticipating with the deepest sorrow, has at length occurred. Daniel Webster is no longer of the living. He has passed from the scene of his vast labors and his glorious triumphs, to join the great of all ages in the spirit-land. But he has left a nation of mourners. His family, his relatives, the extended circle of his ardent personal friends, have no monopoly of grief—but every American in whose breast beats an American heart partakes the general sorrow. No man could have departed from us who would have left so large a void—whose place could not have been more easily supplied. No name of the present day is so intimately interwrought into the very web and woof of our country's history—none, surely, to which an American may point with a more heartfelt and glowing pride. The mourning which spreads over the land will know no North, no South, no East, no West. It will not be confined by narrow limits;—State lines cannot bound it—degrees of latitude or

longitude will not check its flowing; but over the broad bosom of this great Continent, from ocean to ocean—nay, wherever on the ocean float the Stars and Stripes, there will well up from noble hearts the profoundest lamentation for the inestimable loss our country has sustained. Party animosities slink into their burrow—political rivalries and jealousies are overshadowed by the great bereavement, and hide away. The weapons of party warfare fall harmless to the ground, and contending parties and rival sections give token of humanity, and swell the tide and volume of the common grief.

It seems, indeed, a pity that such large experience, such commanding powers, gathered and strengthened amid the troublous contests, trials and vicissitudes of the world, could not have been longer vouchsafed to us, a conspicuous light and guide to the present and coming generations of men. But no endowments of heaven can guarantee an earthly existence beyond the usual limits of life; nor, however much mankind might gain, would it be just to the individual, to withhold him from that higher sphere that beckons and awaits him. But Webster's bright example and recorded wisdom remain. As he passed over the disc of this life, he has enacted his part on so conspicuous a field, that all have been able to profit by his career; and his majestic orations yet resound in every ear. It is fortunate, indeed, that his forensic reputation will not depend, as that of many great orators has done, merely on tradition. It will not die out of the memory of any succeeding generation. His own great thoughts, in his own harmonious and stirring

language, are stamped upon the living page, "and there they will remain for ever."

That Mr. Webster should at this time have surrendered his life, cannot be surprising, even to those who know how much of iron entered into his constitution, when they reflect upon the extraordinary labors he has performed. What frame but his that would not have broken down under merely the professional duties that have been cast upon him? For nearly half a century, he has been sought out, not only in his own, but in other countries and States, to sustain the chief weight and responsibility of the most important litigations. If mighty interests were at stake, or new and interesting questions involved, or if causes depended upon constitutional construction, the services were invoked of this Goliath of the North. When we remember a few of the most conspicuous of the causes in which he has been employed,—the Astor cases in this city—the Dartmouth College case—the famous steamboat case between New Jersey and New York, of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden—the Crowningshields —the New-York Fire cases—the Girard will—the recent India Rubber case—when we turn over the decisions of the Federal Courts of the Union, and see how numerous and important are the questions upon which he has been professionally called to shed the light of his mind—when we think how many hundreds of *nisi prius* causes he has tried, reports of which have never been embalmed in type—remembering too, that in all of these cases it has been his lot to try his strength with the ablest and most distinguished lawyers of the Union, with men whose powers

might well arouse the highest effort of transcendent genius—with Jeremiah Mason, Samuel Dexter and Joseph Story, with Pinckney, Emmett, Wirt, and with the most brilliant advocates of the present day, it may well awaken surprise that, under the pressure of such legal labors, he should have stood up so stoutly and so long. But when we accumulate the other achievements of his life—his miscellaneous studies—his laborious researches into almost every department of knowledge—his agricultural supervision and care—his varied, continuous and voluminous correspondence—his magnificent addresses upon literary and patriotic topics and occasions—his social duties though pleasing, yet rendered numerous and exhausting by his high distinction—his long continued and prodigious legislative labors in the councils of the Union, partaking in the discussions of the many exciting questions that have arrested or shaken the country—his task so successfully performed as the head of the State Department—and the wear and tear of the constant excogitation of his stupendous intellect, we are impressed with astonishment, not only at the mind that could accomplish such gigantic labors, but at the corporeal frame, which, for seventy years, could sustain the working of such huge enginery. Surely it was not of common materials, as it was not of common mould. It had the elements of rare endurance, and unwonted power. But, at last, exhausted, it has released its hold upon the great Soul that has so long inhabited and informed it. And yet, up to a very recent period, we could not speak of him as having grown old in his labors, for

years left no enervating mark upon him, but only seemed to lay an accumulating wealth of dignity and majesty upon that historic head.

In the short period of our national existence, our country has been wonderfully fruitful of great men. The stirring period of her revolutionary history was calculated to bring out and excite to utmost tension, whatever of talent, power, and genius then existed amongst her sons. The succeeding stage of her career was scarcely less adapted to call into requisition the utmost efforts of her children, in the necessity the time imposed, of reducing chaos into order, and organizing, launching, and boldly carrying forward this new government; and intellectual capabilities could not lie idle, when such tempting fields of conquest stretched within the view of laudable ambition. And yet the eye may glance along the starry names that hang in the clear sky of our national history, and it will find none of greater magnitude or brighter ray than that which has just ascended to take its merited position in the constellated dome.

In real intellectual strength it is probable that Webster rarely had his equal since the morning of time. Certainly, at the time of his death, no man known to us, in any of the nations, evinced a like capacity. Strength, mental sinew, was his crowning characteristic. The resistless power with which he trod the field of contest betokened inevitable overthrow to those who dared oppose him. When the chosen champion of the South, amidst the exultations of his friends, endeavored to bind and fetter the arms of

Webster with the tough cords that had been so long fabricating and seasoning, the giant sat in calm repose till his enemies rejoiced in the anticipated accomplishment of their object; then, slowly rising, as if sustaining the drooping hopes of the country, with the light of conscious superiority beaming from his eye, he tore asunder the strands that bound him like wisps of straw, and applying his stalwart shoulders to the temple his adversaries had reared, whelmed the structure and architects in one common and undistinguishable ruin. No intellectual contest in this country had ever excited similar hopes and fears. The whole people had started to their feet at the eloquent and audacious assault that Col. Hayne had made upon him. Great and commanding as all knew his powers to be; confident as was the reliance of his friends in the exhaustless fertility of his genius, yet every one but himself felt the tremor of fear that there was a possibility of failure, and that, in that time of awful responsibility, the lustre of his name might dim and die before the darting splendor of the Southern star. But, from the first moment that his clarion note resounded in the Senate, hope changed to confidence; then peal on peal of withering sarcasm broke over the heads of his affrighted foes; he brushed their cobweb arguments from sight, planted the patriotism of the old Bay State on an immortal eminence, and closed with a strain of deep and magnificent eloquence upon the blessings, the necessity, and the glory of the Union that has no parallel in the records of speech. What were his sensations during the delivery of this splendid oration he has

himself narrated, in answer to a friend. "I felt," said he, "as if everything I had ever seen, or read, or heard, was floating before me in one grand panorama, and I had little else to do than to reach up and cull a thunderbolt, and *hurl* it at him!"

In referring to a professional argument made by him only five or six months since, we said of him, and now repeat, that thirty years ago, when Webster was in the freshness of his ambition, and the prime of his physical life, he must have been the most convincing, resistless, terrific advocate that ever stood before a jury. So many forces mingled in him—such a substratum of common sense, the great primitive rock that supports all else—such comprehensiveness and sweep of glance—such imagination when he chose to permit its intrusion amidst his sterner thoughts—such diction, every word a sledge-hammer—such capacity for stripping off all disguises in which ingenuity may have dressed its sophistries—such advantages of person, of presence, manner, eye and voice were perhaps never united in equal proportions in any individual before. The arguments of his opponents were brittle in his hands. What Gordian knots he could not wait to untie he rent in twain. Before this tribunal—a jury—to our mind, unquestionably, though this may not accord with the general view, Webster stood in the position, of all others, best adapted to display his resources and his strength. Some suppose that the Senate furnished the brightest scene for his intellectual gladiatorship. Many think, from the logical character of his mind, that severe and close ratiocination before the Supreme Court of

the United States was the element in which he found himself most at home. And some imagine, that on great occasions of public interest and before popular assemblies, where he might escape from the unyielding bands of logic, and follow his inclination amid chosen topics, and indulge the lead of his powerful imagination, he rose above the standard of his usual accomplishment. But, in our judgment, there never was a place where he has been so thoroughly aroused, where he has come so near his possibility of effort, as when, standing before twelve jurors, in an individual case, that touched his sympathies, and fired by the immediate antagonism of able adversaries, he has put forth his energies to defend some hunted right, or pursue some grievous wrong.

A prominent feature in Mr. Webster's argumentation was the extraordinary clearness, skill and compactness of his statement. His formal statement of a case was itself a demonstration. A few simple sentences seemed to raise the question above the realm of doubt, and place it beyond assault; and his subsequent arguments hedged it around with impregnable defences.

Another admirable quality was his rare power of condensation. While other men sought to expand, he labored to condense. The material he used was not beaten into leaf, but crowded into bars and ingots. A graphic sentence oft contained the whole question and its solution. He aimed no scattering fowling-piece, that threw its innocent shot around the subject to be hit, but planted his rifle bullet in the very centre of the target.

No man could hear or read the speeches of Webster without being struck with the rich philosophy that was continually enfolding his subject. Themes that other men looked up to gaze at, he stooped to touch; and when he touched them, lifted them into the sphere he occupied, enveloped them with the affluence of his own intellect, invested them with classical allusion and golden suggestion, gave them greater dignity and higher views, and linked them to broader associations.

Mr. Webster's person wore the significance of his grandeur: it was a tenement worthy of the tenant. His ample proportions, brawny but graceful; his imposing form, his dignified manner, his imperial port, his solemn gaze, his majestic and towering head—the vision and faculty divine that looked out of those comprehensive, spiritual orbs, the intellectuality that sat enthroned upon his massive brow, impressed the beholder with unwonted awe. Most great men fall so far short of the ideal that is formed of them, that they dwindle and dwarf upon approach. Distance of time or space lends its enchantment to the view, and through its magnifying mists those gods of our idolatry loom up into Titanic stature. But to this rule Mr. Webster was an exception, almost the sole exception. We doubt, if ever the man came into his presence, who did not leave with enhanced conceptions of his native majesty and power. Nature had set her seal of greatness upon him, and the common voice of his countrymen, in calling him the "godlike," testified that that seal was not illegible to them.

He found the solace of his pastime hours, in the

resonant voices of the waves that ocean dashed along the beach which margined his country home—in superintending agricultural uses—in walking, driving, fishing, and in the genial converse of family and troops of friends. He rose at the hour of three or four, and, in study and labor awaited the announcement of auroral dawn. The quiet and beautiful morning hours imparted to him strength and knowledge, and garlanded with freshness his momentous life.

Mr. Webster must have left materials for biography of uncommon extent and opulence. The six volumes of his speeches which have just appeared, may be immeasurably extended. His manuscripts must disclose a vast variety and range of interesting composition. His diaries and correspondence would be seized by the public with avidity, while his conversations, and the countless anecdotes concerning him, that rest in the memories of individuals, would give intense zest to his biography. We should hope that every one who had any anecdote or interesting conversation of his to relate—and who has not, that has ever spent a half hour in his presence—would commit the same to permanent form, and transmit it to some common destination, where it might await the pen of the biographer. His speeches have done much to educate the present generation of active men. In country schools, academies, and colleges, his sonorous sentences have formed the staple of declamation. He has thus poured his lofty sentiments into the minds of our youth, and every educated man of the country must this day feel that he is under

obligations he can never repay, to the inspirations of Daniel Webster. Let us now have his life, and all the productions of his pen, and such of the utterances of his tongue as may be caught and gathered, that they may all float down the stream of time, a blessing and delight to all ages—co-existent with literature and liberty. Such names and such productions make the garniture of history.

In the sadness of this occasion, how naturally, yet how sorrowfully, does the mind turn towards that splendid triumvirate of statesmen,—Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, but recently the pride and glory of the land, now enacting another stage of their destiny in the world beyond the stars. For forty years they had mingled their efforts and voices in the councils of the Union. Upon all great questions of public policy, each has left his indelible mark. Each, as we have stated heretofore, in himself a host—with physical and intellectual powers so different, yet so surpassing—though not always agreeing, indeed, sometimes at angry variance—a war among the gods —yet always inseparably associated—marching side by side through many years of pith and moment in the history of America and the world—pre-eminent in powers of thought, and in the mode of expressing thought; we see them now, with the eye of memory, in that more than Amphictyonic assemblage—Clay, with his electric fire and burning and impassioned eloquence—Calhoun, clear, terse, logical, metaphysical, with the skill of Tell, shooting an apple from the head,—and Webster, calm, grand, majestic, sitting on the loftiest peaks of Olympus, darting light-

nings, and rolling thunders. But now, alas! those eloquent voices are hushed; those great hearts have ceased their beating; their continuous guidance has been withdrawn from us;—and the American people, in sorrow and orphanage, lament their loss.

MEMORIALS OF MR. WEBSTER,

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM ELMS FARM AND MARSHFIELD.

A TRIP TO NEW-HAMPSHIRE—DANIEL WEBSTER'S FARM ON THE MERRIMACK.

ELMS FARM, N. H., October —, 1849.

* * * I asked a physician where a dyspeptic person, suffering from want of exercise, and liable to an attack from the prevailing epidemic, could go to eradicate the one and evade the other? He answered, "Among the granite hills of New Hampshire." The cholera was then raging in New-York.

On the same day, at 6 o'clock, P. M., I was on board that paragon of steamboats, the *Empire State*, commanded by the gallant Capt. Joseph Comstock, bound for Fall River. The next day at an early hour, having passed through Boston, Lowell, and

* A portion of the following letters were published at about the period they were written,—those from Marshfield in the *Commercial Advertiser*, and several of the others in the *Courier and Enquirer*. They have all been carefully revised, however, and since Mr. Webster's death have been reproduced in the columns of the *Daily Times*, from which they are now printed.

other towns, with the speed of steamboat, I found myself here, stepping out of the car with my portmanteau, hunting apparatus and fishing-tackle, at a dingy looking dépôt building, on the front of which was inscribed, in large letters, "Webster Place."

A gentleman of venerable age and respectable appearance standing by, perceiving that I was a stranger addressed me in the most courteous manner. No tavern being near he politely tendered to me, and I accepted, the hospitalities of his house. He is the friend, and was one of the playmates and schoolfellows of Mr. Webster. With a mind rich in reminiscences, and unimpaired by age, he was as instructive and entertaining as any man I have met in many a day. He goes back to his childhood, and talks of events happening then as if it were but yesterday. He talks about the Defender of the Constitution, when he was a boy, and he has made me quite familiar with that interesting period of his life, of which, by-the-by, the world has hitherto known comparatively nothing. I shall during my sojourn here, recount to you some portions of the conversation of this venerable man and his old neighbours, who sit together in the cool shades of these majestic elms, on pleasant afternoons, and live over again the scenes of their youth.

Webster Place is at Elms Farm, owned by Daniel Webster, in the town of Franklin, on the banks of the Merrimack, the home of his late father Colonel Ebenezer Webster. From filial affection Mr. Webster retains and cultivates this homestead, and doubtless will do so through life. I had no conception

that there could be found among these rugged hills, so far up this river, a spot so inviting, so enchanting. It is no wonder he loves to come here.

Taking it for granted that you, in common with the millions of intelligent citizens of the United States, are interested in knowing whatever pertains to this great man—unquestionably the greatest man of his time, and justly the object of his country's pride—I will give you a brief description of his farming lands, of this farm, its location, and some of the legends which render it, and ever will, a place of interest.

The whole extent of his farming lands in this vicinity is not less than nine hundred acres, which though composed of several tracts, do not lie contiguous to each other. I have rambled over them today. About 360 acres lie on the western hills bordering this valley, which are seeded for pastures, and upon it his flocks and herds feed during the summer. Limpid streams meander through it, and refreshing springs bubble up from the cool recesses of the earth to slake the thirst of both man and beast.

Beautiful trees—oak, walnut, maple, pine, &c.—are scattered profusely over the surface, affording shade and shelter, and at the same time, giving it the appearance of a vast and highly ornamented park. I rode through it in different directions, and saw nearly one hundred head of his thriving cattle, some of them thorough-bred, all good, and all apparently as fat as seals. On these hills the sweetest kind of grass grows spontaneously. On the western verge of this tract of land there is a swelling mount, the

apex of which is known as "Pisgah's top." With a telescope in my hand I ascended it, and had a view of the surrounding country, well worth all the journey hither.

This elevated point, which Mr. Webster owns as a part of his farm and values highly, he visits annually, and thence re-surveys the scenes of his childhood and youth; all of which are spread out to his view like a map at his feet—the streams in which he angled for trout; the glens and the hills where, in his boyhood, gun in hand, he chased his game, and the fields he tilled with his own hands, are often revisited, so that every incident in that bye-gone time, is kept as fresh in his memory as if it had happened but yesterday.

The view is magnificent. The Kearsage Mountain, in the County of Merrimack, which rises 2,461 feet above the level of the sea, and the summit of which is now a bare mass of granite, but whose sides are covered with wood, stands out in bold relief. There stood its constant neighbor, Ragged Mountain, so aptly named from its rough appearance, rising 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. There stand the Mink Hills, and close by is the famous Meeting-House Hill. Looking beyond Ragged Mountain, I saw the summit of Ascutney Mountain in Vermont, which rises 3,116 feet above the Connecticut River, and 3,320 above the level of the sea. It is solid granite, and destitute of covering. Travellers make pilgrimages to its summit to take a view of the surrounding country. Looking in a northerly direction, I had a good view of the tops of the White

Mountains. You are aware that the summit of that range of crystal hills, as they were named by Neal, Jocelyn and Field, who ascended them in 1632, have since been named Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Franklin and Lafayette. Their snow-white summits are seen from "Pisgah's top," nearly sixty miles distant, and their appearance is that of a silvery cloud skirting the horizon. Mount Washington rises 6,234 feet above the sea. This is known from its being the highest and most southern. Mount Adams is next in height, and Mount Jefferson is situated between these two. They are the highest and most celebrated in New England.

There, too, in a more easterly direction, is a fine view of the Ossipee Mountain, and of its neighbors, the Gunstock Hills.

He has a small farm on which he sometimes pastures sheep, situated on the other side of the river, which embraces about one hundred acres.

The sheep and cattle which feed on these two upland farms in the summer, are, in the winter, driven to the homestead on the flats, and sometimes to Marshfield where they are foddered during the winter.

But the valuable land, that which affords him the chief inducement to own any land in this part of New England, is the farm which was his father's, and with which are associated his earliest, and perhaps fondest recollections.

It comprises about four hundred acres. About one half of it is rich bottom land, very level, handsomely laid out, and apparently under the highest state of cultivation; the other half is rolling land,

rising from the western boundary of the flats, up the gradual ascent of the higher lands, and is thickly wooded with the most desirable and thriving trees.

The facility with which timber can be taken to market, and the rapidity with which forests have disappeared, render these woodlands very valuable —perhaps the most valuable of any lands in this valley.

It is also a great pleasure to see that the farm houses, the barns, the sheds, and the fences, are all as white as paint can make them, and every object in view indicates the good husbandry of the farmer who has them in charge.

The Northern Railway passes through it near the Mansion House, and several trains of cars, freighted with passengers and the products of the country, with merchandise for the people, pass over it daily, almost annihilating time and space, giving all the advantages of a near approximation to Boston. Scattered over the surface stands a large number of aged, majestic and beautiful elms, which enrich the picture beyond the power of my pen to describe. Hence the name "Elms Farm," by which it is known from Boston to Canada. No passing traveller fails to admire its richness and its neatness.

On the southern boundary of this farm stands one of the most commanding of the elms, and marks the spot where stood an old fort, in the time of the Indian wars; and which, for many years, afforded partial protection to the frontier settlements. Tradition startles the ear with the bloody scenes and savage massacres in the days of that old fortification.

Capt. John Taylor, who has been with Mr. Webster nearly twenty years, who tills this soil, and so "jocundly drives his team a-field" every morning, without any danger to his personal safety, little dreams of the perils and sufferings of his predecessors in these identical fields.

They went forth to plant or reap, carrying with them not only their hoes and sickles, but loaded guns, cartridges, and other weapons, to defend their lives when attacked, some standing sentry to watch the stealthy approach of the murderous Indian, while the others cultivated the land or gathered in the harvests. How different the state of things now!

The legends of this beautiful spot of earth would fill a volume of realities "more romantic than romance itself."

On the old turnpike road, under the aged elms whose branches reach across the highway, affording perpetual shade, stand the two old dwelling-houses in which Colonel Ebenezer Webster, the father of Daniel, in his lifetime lived. One is more than one hundred years old, and the other more than sixty. In the latter he closed his career. No man was more respected for his many virtues.

From where I sit, is two miles and a half to the head of the Merrimack river, which is there formed by the confluence of two beautiful streams, but rejoicing in harsh Indian names, viz.: 1st, The *Pemigewasset;* which rises in the White Hills, pours down their southern slopes and declivities, dashing over many cascades, and collecting the tribute of various smaller rivers and brooks in its course. It is the

beau ideal of a mountain stream, cold, noisy, winding, and with banks of much picturesque beauty. 2d, The *Winnipiscogee;* this river issues from the great Lake of that name, which lies about N. E. from this spot. This lake is near twenty miles long, with various arms and bays like a sea. Its shores are mountainous and strikingly beautiful; especially on the north and east. The last Royal Governor, John Wentworth, had his country-house on the eastern side of this lake. This sheet of water is hardly more than 20 or 25 miles from the tide waters which come up to Dover and Berwick. Nevertheless, it discharges its waters westerly, and they reach the sea through the Merrimack, at Newburyport, having made a circuit of about 100 miles.

At this place the width of the river is about fifty rods; but a few miles below, it receives several tributary streams which greatly increase its width, and render it a river of considerable magnitude. At its mouth it is half a mile wide. On its borders are situated some of the most flourishing towns in all New England.

The surface of the lake of which I spoke, is, I think, 240 feet above tide water. The river issuing from it, and running to its junction with the Pemigewasset, a distance of about 15 or 18 miles, makes a fall of 100 feet, by several successive cascades, affording all of them, excellent mill power. The water of this river is several degrees warmer, generally, than that of the Pemigewasset; the difference being that between a mountain stream, and a stream issuing from large and deep lakes.

It is a curious fact, or rather tradition of a fact, related to me by Mr. Webster himself, who knows the habits of fishes, that when the Merrimack river was full of fish, on their arrival at the confluence of these two streams, the salmon and shad shook hands and parted; the shad all going into the lakes, the salmon all keeping up the mountain torrent, which they continued to ascend, as used to be said, till their back fins were out of water. This is still the case with the few which annually find their way over the dams and other obstructions to the fountains.

I have said, these two streams unite two-and-a-half miles above where I now am. The place was formerly called "*Webster's Falls*," but is now the site of a flourishing manufacturing village called Franklin, or more specifically, Franklin Upper Village. Mr. Webster related to me the following legend concerning a stream in which he has caught many a fish:—

Call's Brook glides meandering down a glen, and runs through the meadow to the river. It took its name from this melancholy tragedy. On the banks of the stream, at the foot of the glen, lived Philip Call. He was one of the first settlers. His wife, his son and his son's wife (the latter of whom had a small child), constituted his family. While the Messrs. Call were both in the field, and the elder and younger Mrs. Call were in the house, a small party of Indians came suddenly upon them, and went in. They were seen to enter by the men in the field, who perceiving them unarmed, and cherishing the hope that the savages would do no harm to the

women and child, they concealed themselves in the field. The younger Mrs. Call, seeing the savages entering the house, seized her child and hid herself behind the rude chimney. The Indians demanded milk and food, which the elder Mrs. Call gave them. They ate till they could eat no more. All this time the little child, who was naturally a noisy, chattering thing, remained perfectly silent with its mother; the least sound would have betrayed both. The elder lady doubtless thought that by giving them all they demanded, they would go peaceably away, though at that time a high price was paid in Canada for scalps; but she was fatally mistaken; for, instead of gratitude, Indian hatred was uppermost, and those barbarous savages killed her on the spot and carried off her scalp, while the younger woman escaped unhurt. Hence the stream is called *Call's Brook*. The child lived to a good old age, and Mr. Webster has often seen and conversed with her. He also told me another of the legends concerning this farm.

One Peter Bowen, in those days, lived also on this farm. He was a high-tempered, daring man, and was often with the Indians. He owed two of them a grudge. It so happened that he was alone with these two very Indians, coming up the river. At *Call's Brook* he shot one, and killed the other with the butt of his gun; he carelessly left their bodies partially concealed under the top of a fallen tree. The Indians were missed. Suspicion fell on Peter. His known hostility, his high temper, were circumstances against him. Besides, Peter remained in his house. The bodies were found. Peter fled.

At this time there was a treaty of amity between the whites and the Indians; and the Governor at Portsmouth sent an ambassador to the Indians in Canada, to assure them that Peter should be caught and hanged. But he eluded the officers for a month, or more, concealing himself in the woods. At length, he was caught and put into the jail at Exeter. At that time, opinion was strong against hanging a man for killing an Indian, and a party of his friends and neighbors, disguised as Mohawk Indians, went to the jail, tore it down, and released the prisoner.

After that, he was undisturbed, and for years he lived here, tilling this land. But the ghosts of the dead Indians constantly haunted him. He often saw, in his imagination, other Indians, armed to take vengeance on him, starting up from behind haycocks in the meadows, and lurking about his house. This frenzy or fear grew on him, and turned his brain, so that he, finally, in the other extreme, went into Canada and surrendered himself to the tribe of which his victims were members, and there, strange to relate, the affair was amicably settled. His offence was offset against some other offence, and he thenceforth lived to a great age—the ghosts ceased to haunt him, and he finally died in their midst, as one of the tribe.

The old Turnpike, which was lately so much crowded with teams, leads to Concord, fifteen miles below the spot, on the same side of the river. To Concord, as you know, the railroad comes from Boston, *viâ* Lowell, Nashua, Manchester, and Hooksett. A few years since, when the anti-railroad obstinacy

of the dominant political party in the State was overcome, or broken down, a charter was granted for a railroad from Concord, through Franklin, to Lebanon, on the Connecticut River. This is the great route from Boston to Montreal, though it has competition in a more Southern route, called, I think, the Massachusetts and Vermont Railroad. This route, known as the Northern Railroad, will continue to be preferred. I believe it is as near—while Manchester, Nashua, and Lowell, highly important manufacturing places, are in the line of this route, and not in that of the other.

From Concord, the railroad follows the river through Boscawen, passes through this beautiful bottom land, where I now am (here called Intervail), goes much nearer to Mr. Webster's house, I dare say, than he would wish, and keeps on up to Franklin Upper Village. There it leaves the Merrimack, exactly at its head, and turning still further to the west than the line or valley of the Pemigewasset, it follows up a little stream, called Hancock Brook, to a beautiful lake in the woods, called "Como." Adjoining this classical sheet of water, Mr. Webster has forty acres of pine land, and on a distinguished point along the shore, quite conspicuous for a great distance, stands his whitewashed boat-house, nine feet by eighteen. To use Mr. Webster's own words; "The railroad having approached the lake, and done homage to this little edifice, inclines still farther to the southwest, and twists and turns, and wriggles, and climbs, till it finally struggles over the height of land near Cardigam Mountains, and then glides down,

like a rippling brook, through Shaker Pond, and the Mascoma, its outlet, to Connecticut River."

The house in which Col. Webster lived faces due north. The front windows look towards the river. But then the river soon turns to the south, so that the eastern windows look towards the river also. But the river has so deepened its channel, in this stretch of it, in the last fifty years, that I cannot now see its water without approaching it, or going back to the higher lands behind us. The history of this change is of considerable importance in the philosophy of streams. Mr. Webster, in a letter to a friend, who has allowed me to take it, says, he has observed it practically, and knows something of the theory of the phenomenon; but doubts whether the world will ever be benefited either by his learning or his observation in this respect. "Looking out at the east windows, with a beautiful sun just breaking out," says the letter, "my eye sweeps along a level field of 100 acres. At the end of it, a third of a mile off, I see plain marble grave-stones, designating the places where repose my father and mother, and brother, and sisters Mahitable, Abigail, and Sarah—good Scripture names, inherited from their Puritan ancestors.

"This fair field is before me. I could see a lamb on any part of it. I have ploughed it, and raked it, but I never mowed it; somehow, I could never learn to hang a scythe. My brother Joseph used to say that my father sent me to college in order to make me equal to the rest of the children."

The whip-poor-will has struck up her all-night

song, and I'll to my couch and sleep to the time her music keep.

Yours, truly.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S FATHER.

ELMS FARM, N. H., October, 1849.

Colonel Ebenezer Webster, the father of Daniel, was born at Kingston, in Rockingham County, N. H., in the year 1739. His father was among the original grantees of the land in that township in 1692, and settled there in 1700. The name of his great grandfather was Ebenezer; this was also the name of his grandfather, his own father, and of himself. This name he also gave to his eldest son, and the name is still descending. Col. Webster was a farmer, born in those troublesome times when Kingston was a frontier settlement. Savage Indians were hovering about his childhood. The tomahawk and the scalping-knife gleamed in the sunshine of every day, and his existence depended on the successful resistance against those frightful instruments of death and torture.

At an early age, he was bound as an apprentice to one Ebenezer Stevens, who, of course, brought him up. In the article of apprenticeship, Stevens was bound to send him to school for a certain length of time in each year, an obligation which, if fulfilled, would have given him a good common school education, but he violated his covenant in that respect, and never permitted his apprentice to see the inside of a

school-house for the purpose of learning; consequently he had no education except what he obtained in the chimney-corner, by the light of blazing pine knots, while others slept, and what he snatched as he passed through his boyhood. But self-taught, he learned to read and write, and made himself somewhat familiar with arithmetic. It is said of him, by those who remember him well, that he was one of the very best readers they had ever heard. The principles of elocution and oratory were intuitive in him. His voice was loud, clear and musical, and his reading and speaking were both effective. The books he took most pleasure in reading aloud for the gratification of others, were the Bible, Shakspeare, and Pope's Essay on Man. No professed elocutionist could exceed him in giving effect to what those great books contained.

In 1757, at the age of eighteen, he enlisted as a soldier in a distinguished corps called Rodgers' Rangers, engaged in the war then raging with the French and Indians on the frontier. This body of troops was taken from the boldest and hardiest of the yeomanry of New England. They were required to be doubly armed, and to carry with them both snow-shoes and skates, to be used as occasion should render necessary. Their packs were twice the weight carried by common soldiers. Stark, Putnam, and several others who were heroes in the Revolutionary war, served with the youthful soldier of whom I am speaking. The exploits of the band of rangers, as related by those who knew them, seem like romance. All along the borders of Lake George, they fought despe-

rate battles and won brilliant victories, sometimes with more than twice their numbers. Hardy as they were, those campaigns were too severe for many of these rangers, and they perished or fell fighting their battles. But Ebenezer Webster survived. He served under General Amherst in the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

He was appointed a Captain, and his experience as a ranger, while a boy, inspired confidence in him as a man, and he had no great difficulty in raising a company in his own town. When Burgoyne had entered the territory of New-York, having taken Ticonderoga, and was making rapid strides across the country, Captain Webster, with his company, under the command of the brave General Stark, fled to the scene of action, and was engaged in the spirited and successful engagement with Count Baum, at Bennington.

The following account of the part he performed is more brief than I can relate it. I therefore substitute it for what I would say:—

It had been given out by Stark some time previous to the battle, that it was his intention to march to Stillwater, and a detachment of the British, one thousand strong, was consequently sent to intercept him. The forces of the enemy having been thus divided and weakened, the American general was enabled to cope with them in detail. Col. Warner was stationed in the rear of the American army, with a reserved corps, while Captain Webster was ordered to advance with his company of one hundred men, in search of two hundred more, who were out upon a

scout. The companies once united, Captain Webster was to assume the command of the whole, and fall upon the enemy in the rear, but on no account to fire until the action had commenced on the other side. It was on this memorable occasion that General Stark uttered the celebrated words: "Fellow-soldiers! there is the enemy; if we don't take them, Molly Stark will be a widow to-night!" Captain Webster having fulfilled the duty assigned him in collecting together the three hundred men, awaited his share in the honors of the day. When allowed to make his charge upon the enemy, with pieces loaded, and with firm and equal step, his men advanced upon the opposing breastworks. Captain Webster was the first to leap the defences, but the reinforcements were not sufficient to render the attack successful, and his command was driven back. Meantime the British were strengthened by the arrival of one thousand fresh troops upon the field, and a new disposition of the battle became necessary. General Stark placed Captain Webster and Captain Gregg on the left wing of the American force, Colonel Nichols on the right, and placed the army in a strong position. The result of that struggle is a matter of history, and a large proportion of its fame is due to the efforts of Ebenezer Webster.

He was engaged in the battle at White Plains, and was also at the surrender of Burgoyne himself, on the plains of Saratoga. In every instance he proved himself worthy of all honor, and that confidence in him was never misplaced.

After the peace of 1783, having done his part in

achieving the glorious independence of his country, he returned his sword to its scabbard and again resumed the arts of peace. His sons and daughters grew up around him, and aided him in his struggles with adversity. Prosperity dawned upon him; his log cabin, in which some of his children were born, gave place to a more comfortable dwelling. For his toils and sacrifices he received the rewards he sought, which were, competence for himself and family, and the approval and respect of his friends and neighbors. He was not indebted to advantageous circumstances for anything, but to his own hands for all he had, all he accomplished.

A large and valuable tract of country, situated between New England, New-York and Canada, was secured to the British dominions, and it became the interest of the Governors of New Hampshire and New-York to vie with each other in granting those lands to patentees and receiving the emoluments.

The grants were of townships equal to six miles square. Sixty townships were granted on the west side of the Merrimack River, and eighteen on the east side. A reservation was made in each township of 500 acres for the Governor. The township of Salisbury was thus granted to Ebenezer Webster, Edward Eastman, Philip Call, Benjamin Pettengill, Andrew Bohounow, Nathaniel Melton, and others. The township was situated on the west side of the river extending far back on the hill and embracing a part of the present township of Franklin, and especially that part in which Elms Farm is included.

After this grant was obtained, Mr. Webster took

up his march, and with the others penetrated the unbroken forest, to the spot or farm he chose for his location, and which was then fifteen miles beyond Concord, the frontier garrison town at that time, and there, where I stood to-day, the youthful and daring soldier, the war being ended, cleared away the trees with his own hands, erected his log cabin, and established himself, to become a useful member of society —to rear a family and to defend his fireside from whatever danger might threaten its peace.

While he and his friends who had ventured with him into that wilderness, were clearing their lands, observing the growth of their children, and making rapid progress towards independence in their worldly circumstances, the revolutionary storm burst out, and called him from his farm to the battle field. He was accustomed to danger, but not to fear; and he was prepared, from previous training, for a sudden response to his country's call.

Sometimes it happens that such men are sneered at, and the toils of the humble and poor are mentioned, and even cast in the teeth of their children by way of disparagement. While I stood upon the spot where that log cabin stood, I called to mind what Mr. Webster said in August, 1840, at Saratoga, in reply to the imputation cast upon Gen. Harrison, candidate for the office of President, that he "*was born in a log cabin!*" Hear him:

"Gentlemen: It is only shallow-minded pretenders, who either make distinguished origin matter of personal merit, or obscure origin matter of personal reproach. Taunt and scoffing at the humble condi-

tion of early life, affect nobody in this country but those who are foolish enough to indulge in them, and they are generally sufficiently punished by public rebuke. A man who is not ashamed of himself, need not be ashamed of his early condition.

"Gentlemen, it did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin, raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early, as that when the smoke first rose from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it, to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narrations and incidents, which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode. I weep, to think that none of those who inhabited it are now among the living, and if ever I am ashamed of it, or if I ever fail in affectionate veneration for HIM who raised it and defended it against savage violence and destruction, cherished all the domestic virtues beneath its roof, and through the fire and blood of a seven years' revolutionary war, shrunk from no danger, no toil, no sacrifice to serve his country, and to raise his children to a condition better than his own, may my name, and the name of my posterity be blotted for ever from the memory of mankind!"

After the peace, on the more perfect organization

of the militia of this State, Captain Webster was promoted to the office of Colonel of a Regiment, which office he long held, and took great pride and pleasure in attending to military affairs. It is said of him there was never a finer-looking officer in the field. He was a large, well proportioned, dignified looking man. In giving the word of command his remarkable voice rose above any tumult, no matter how great, and was heard distinctly by every man on parade.

He was often elected a member of the Legislature of this State, sometimes to the Senate and sometimes to the Assembly, and he always exercised that influence which is due to commanding talents and virtuous character. There was in his time a wealthy and influential family belonging to the opposite party in politics, who were his rivals for political distinction, and not unfrequently were opposing candidates. To promote their success they made strenuous efforts and brought to their aid their wealth and other advantages, but all in vain. The recital of one of the deeds of the gallant Colonel, or the repetition of one of his patriotic speeches to his brothers in arms, would outweigh all that could be said or done on the other side, and Colonel Webster never failed to be chosen. In the year 1791 he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, the duties of which he discharged with integrity and honor till his death.

Although his education was limited, being self-taught entirely, yet he was a man of strong, good sense; he read much, and was thoroughly acquainted with the Constitution of the States and of the United

States, and he studied profoundly the laws of the land, as they affected the rights and duties of the people. His opinions were held in great respect by all who had the opportunity of knowing them. His general knowledge was very great. Like his sons, Ezekiel and Daniel, he excelled in conversation, and his society was sought by all intelligent men.

Judge Webster selected the farm on the hill, where he first settled, without much regard to its soil, but because it was thickly wooded with pine timber for market, and on account of a convenient mill privilege afforded by Punch Brook, a considerable stream running through it. There he built a saw-mill and a grist-mill. But after the timber had disappeared, and the population on the flat lands had greatly increased, he sold his land on the hill, and occupied Elms Farm, now owned, as stated in my previous letter, by his son Daniel.

The Judge was twice married, and was the father of ten children—five by his first wife, and five by the second. None are now living except the sage of Marshfield.

The Judge, after a life of sixty-seven years, well spent, died at this place.

In the letter to which I have alluded, Mr. Webster, speaking of his father, said "he was the handsomest man I ever saw, except my brother Ezekiel; and he appeared to me, and so he does now seem to me, as my memory restores him, the very finest human form that ever I laid eyes on. I saw him in his coffin—a white forehead, a tinged cheek—a complexion as clear as heavenly light!"

In the grave-yard, a little distant from where I am writing, repose his mortal remains. A plain marble slab marks the spot where he sleeps, and on that slab is this simple inscription: "Ebenezer Webster, Esq., *Died April 22nd*, 1806, *Aged* 67." By the side of that grave is the grave of Daniel Webster's mother. On the plain marble slab that tells where she sleeps, is the simple inscription: "Abigail, *Wife of* Ebenezer Webster, Esq., *Died April 25th*, 1816, *Aged* 76."

In the letter from which I am permitted to make extracts, Mr. Webster thus sums up the character of his father:

"He had in him what I recollect to have been the character of some of the old Puritans. He was deeply religious, but not sour—on the contrary, good-humored, facetious—showing even in his age, with a contagious laugh, teeth all white as alabaster—gentle, soft, playful—and yet having a heart in him that he seemed to have borrowed from a lion. He could frown—a frown it was; but cheerfulness, good-humor and smiles composed his most usual aspect.

"He died at sixty-seven years of age—after a life of exertion, toil and exposure—a private soldier, an officer, a legislator; a judge—everything that a man could be, to whom Learning never had disclosed her 'ample page.'"

I have seldom considered the biography of a plain man with more satisfaction than his. How I wish he could have been permitted to see the greatness of his son.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF DANIEL WEBSTER—HIS BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

ELMS FARM, *October* —, 1849.

Mr. Webster was born on the 18th day of January, 1782, in the town of Salisbury. The house in which that important event happened, stood on the highway named the North Road, far up the western hill which borders on the valley of the Merrimack. What is Franklin was a part of that old township, and for a long time was called New Salisbury. The farm is now owned by one Captain Sawyer. It was originally owned and occupied by Col. Ebenezer Webster, the father of Mr. Webster, and of whom I have given you some account in a previous letter. Not a vestige of that habitation remains, to mark the place, unless it is the cellar, now partly filled up, and the trunk of an ancient apple-tree, the top of which is dead, but from which, near the earth, are sprouting forth a few thriving branches. From these, I cut a walking staff, which I have sent to my excellent friend, Luther R. Marsh, Esq., an eminent counsellor at the bar in your city.

At a short distance from the place of his birth is the old well, in which hangs an "iron-bound bucket." This well was excavated by his father, long before Mr. Webster was born, and from it his family were accustomed to draw the pure and cool water to slake their thirst, as I drew it yesterday to quench mine. By the side of this well stands an elm-tree, planted by his father about the year 1768. It has grown luxuriantly, and its branches extend over a circle

one hundred feet in diameter—affording perpetual shade to the well, and to those who choose to sit under them. For more than sixty years, almost annually, Mr. Webster has sat occasionally under that tree, and drank of that water. Scattered about the premises, near the well, are a few ancient apple, plum, and pear trees, which were planted by Captain Eastman, his mother's father, and who during the latter part of his life, lived with Col. Webster.

Near the spot runs "Punch Brook," which was then a roaring, rattling, bubbling stream, of considerable importance; but clearing the lands about its sources, has diminished it to a little rivulet, which meanders on its way along the hill-side, through glens and meadows, to the river. It was in this brook that Mr. Webster remembers he caught his first fish. He never passes the spot where that exploit was performed, without relating the anecdote not only of taking the trout, but of the ducking he had when a child.

On the opposite side of the road, is the site of the old mill, built by Col. Webster immediately after he took possession of this land. Yesterday, I called to pay my respects to Lieutenant Benjamin Pettingill, a venerable old man, who related to me many pleasing anecdotes concerning the family of Mr. Webster; and, among other things, he said, that he well remembered going to that mill with his grist, and having waited for it to be ground by Ebenezer Webster the eldest brother of Daniel. Two huge rocks projecting from the bank, on each side of the stream, formed the abutments of the old mill-dam,

and the remains of the constructed portion are still visible. No traces remain of the old mill itself, unless they are the mill-stones. After their use was discontinued, these valuable relics were carried up the bank and put into a cellar-wall, where I saw them. The building that stood over the cellar has long since gone to decay, but there stand the grinding stones facing each other, which, for many years, assisted in making bread for the pioneers of all this section of the country. Were they mine, I would not be Vandal enough to break them to pieces.

There are on the farm a few fertile spots which rewarded its present owner satisfactorily for his toil and pains; but the granite rocks visible in all directions, render a great portion of it fit only for pasturage. Such is the birth-place of the greatest man of our time. Is such a spot without interest?

Mr. Daniel Webster was one of ten children, himself the ninth. I will mention each one in the order of their ages.

Ebenezer Webster was his eldest brother. He always resided at home, where he not only cultivated the farm but aided his father in carrying on the mills. He died at an early age, and was buried in the ancient burying-ground. on the North Road. Daniel scarcely knew him.

Olivia Webster was his eldest sister. I know nothing of her, save only that she too died at an early age.

Susannah Webster, the next to his eldest sister, married Mr. John Colby. He is still living a venerable and highly respected old gentleman in Bosca-

wen, but she has long since been numbered with the dead. She left several children who reside in the vicinity.

David Webster, next to his eldest brother, married Mrs. Huntoon. He was a farmer, and at an early day removed with his family to Canada, where he lived and died. He had a large family of children, and some of the descendants are eminent men and women, who are making their mark on the time. Some of them hold important offices under the Government of that country.

Joseph Webster, the next brother, married a Miss Colby. He was remarkable for his ready wit. He too, was a farmer. He died, January 28, 1810, aged 41. He had two children, who I think are still living.

Mahitable Webster was the third sister. She was a woman much beloved by her acquaintances, and never married. She died July 4, 1814, aged 37.

Abigail Webster, the fourth sister, married Mr. Haddock, who long resided and finally died in Franklin. The old house in which he died stands near this farm. She was the mother of Dr. Charles B. Haddock, now, perhaps, the most eminent Professor at Dartmouth College, and unquestionably a good scholar, if not the greatest man in the State. Among those who know him his reputation stands high. He has been in the Legislature, and was prominent among the Whigs as a candidate for the office of Senator in Congress.

Mrs. Haddock, his mother, long since departed

this life. Her grave is among others in the burying ground near Elms Farm.

Honorable Ezekiel Webster was the next older than Daniel, and was his full brother—the others being only half-brothers.

He was born in Salisbury, and although older than Daniel, yet he followed him two years or more through college and through the study of the law —not having taken up his books or made any preparation till Daniel had made rapid advances and had proved what could be done under disadvantageous circumstances. When admitted to the bar he opened his office in Boscawen, and went immediately into an extensive and lucrative practice.

His extraordinary talents and great private worth placed him in the front rank of his profession, and indeed in the front rank of men? His wisdom and solid judgment in all the affairs of men, commanded the respect and admiration of all. He was often in the Senate and Assembly of New Hampshire. There was no man living for whose judgment and advice Mr. Webster had so much respect as that of his brother Ezekiel. It is said of him that all he ever asked was the approval of Ezekiel. The applause of the multitude, the laudations of the press, the flattering attention of an entranced Senate, all dwindled to insignificance when compared with the silent but certain approbation of Ezekiel! It is said of the Roman Coriolanus, that the greatest incentive to action he ever had in his career of glory was the desire to do frequently acts that would meet the approbation of his mother. So it was with Mr.

Webster, while his mother lived; but when she was no more his mind turned to Ezekiel.

When, after his reply to Gen. Hayne, in the Senate, his fame rose to its zenith, and his praises were sounded wherever the English language was spoken, Ezekiel had departed this life. Then, Mr. Webster, as if doubtful of it all, was heard to say, "*How I wish my poor brother had lived till after this speech, that I might know if he would have been gratified.*"

On the 10th of April, 1829, while Ezekiel was in Court, at Concord, in the midst of one of his most brilliant forensic efforts, death aimed his fatal dart, and he fell dead at the feet of the Judges. He died from a disease of the heart, at the age of forty-nine, beloved and lamented by all who knew him, and at that time by far the most worthy and influential man in this State.

The following notice of his death was entered in a Pastor's Journal the day on which it took place.

April 10, 1829.—This day witnessed the most solemn scene I ever beheld. At three o'clock, P. M., Hon. Ezekiel Webster, of Boscawen, commenced an argument before the Court of Common Pleas, in Concord. I sat directly before him. He stood firm, dignified. His voice, clear, full, strong. His plea connected, convincing, powerful. His health apparently good; and his whole appearance that of a man in the possession and exercise of his noblest powers. He had spoken about twenty minutes, when he fell backwards and expired without a struggle or a groan. The impression of this instant was awful. Every

face was pale!—every heart trembled! The immortal spirit was gone—and the realities of the invisible world seemed in full prospect. 'In the midst of life we are in death.' May I never forget the scene, or the instruction it imparts."

I have taken some pains to ascertain the mental endowments, the character, and standing of this truly eminent brother of Mr. Webster, and everything I have learned has excited my admiration. I cannot, however, give you a better idea of him than by using almost the very words in which I find him described by one of his classmates in College. I have it before me and will give you what he says:

In college, he was the first in his class; his intellect was of a very high order; its capacity was general, for he was able to comprehend the abstruse and difficult, and at the same time to enjoy the tasteful and the elegant. He was distinguished for classical literature.

His knowledge of Greek, particularly, was beyond that of his cotemporaries in college; and this is almost an unqualified proof of taste, when the study is pursued from a real fondness for the language, and not merely for the pride of learning, or for the rewards of superiority.

His knowledge of English literature was deep and extensive, for he had not skimmed over books as a matter of amusement, but he looked into them as a man of mind, who intends to draw lessons from all he reads. Few men among our scholars knew so much of the English poets as he did, and he valued them as he should have done, as philosophers and painters of

human nature, from whom much knowledge may be obtained to illustrate and adorn what duller minds have put into maxims and rules.

He made himself master of the law as a science, and became well acquainted with its practice in his native State. He went up to the first principles with the ease and directness of a great mind, and separated at once that which was casual and local from that which is permanent and founded on the basis of moral justice and the nature of man. There seemed no effort in anything he did; all was natural and easy, as if intuitive. There was nothing about him of that little bustling smartness so often seen in ordinary persons striving to perform something to attract the attention of the little world around them.

His general information was not only extensive, but laid up in excellent order ready for use. He was steadily engaged in the duties of his profession, but never seemed hurried or confused in his business. He took all calmly and quietly. He did nothing for parade or show, or mere effect, nor did he speak to the audience while addressing the court and jury. His life was passed in habits of industry and perseverance; and his accumulations of wealth and knowledge were regular and rapid. From the commencement of his life as a reasoning being, responsible for his own actions to the close of it, he preserved the most perfect consistency of character—no paroxysms of passion, no eccentricities of genius were ever found in him. His equanimity was only equalled by his firmness of purpose. In this he was most conspicuous; he thought leisurely and cautiously, and having

made up his mind he was steadfast and immovable.

Having no hasty or premature thoughts, he seldom had occasion to change his opinion, and was, therefore, free from those mortifying repentances, so common to superior minds of warmer temperament.

By honesty of purpose and soundness of judgment, he kept a just balance in weighing all matters before him. All this firmness and equanimity, and other virtues, seemed constitutional, and not made up by those exertions so necessary to most frail beings, who intend to support a character for steady habits. He was blessed with a frame that felt few or no infirmities, such as weaken the nerves and bring down the mighty in intellect to those degrading superstitions that stain the brightness of genius and destroy the high hopes of immortal beings, and make them slaves to darkness and absurdity.

He suffered no moral or mental weakness in his whole path of duty, for his constitution, until within a short time of his death, exhibited a sound mind in a sound body, and neither appeared essentially injured or decayed, to the hour of his exit from the world.

He never sought public honors, nor literary or political distinctions, and therefore had none of those throes and agonies so common to vaulting ambition; not that he declined all public trusts, when he was conscious that he could do any good to his fellow-men. He was several years a member of one or the other branch of the Legislature of New Hampshire, and served as a trustee of Dartmouth College. He was at different times put up for a member of Congress,

but it was at periods when his friends thought that his name would do some good to his political party, as the members of Congress in New Hampshire were chosen by a general ticket; but when they were decidedly in power, he would seldom or never consent to be a candidate. This was much to be regretted, for he was admirably calculated for public life by his extensive knowledge and incorruptible integrity. He would have been a first-rate speaker on the floor of Congress. His eloquence was impressive and commanding. There was in his delivery a slight defect in the labial sounds—in the familiar use of his voice, which was rather pleasant to the listener than otherwise, for it was a proof of a natural manner; but warmed by his subject, a more rich, full, and sonorous voice, was seldom heard in any public body; not that his tones were delicate or mellifluous, but full of majesty and command, free from arrogance, timidity, or hesitation. His gestures were graceful, but not in the slightest degree studied; his language was rich, gentlemanly, select, but not painfully chosen; he not only had words for all occasions, but the very words he should have used.

As a writer he excelled in judgment and taste; there was a classical elegance in his familiar writtings; and his higher compositions were marked with that lucid order and clearness of thought and purity of expression which distinguished the Augustan age. His sentences were not grappled together by hooks of steel, but connected by golden hinges, that made a harmonious whole. His library was rich in works of merit, ancient and modern. The history of literature

and science was as familiar to him as that of his native State, and he had the means of turning to it with much greater facility.

He was an instance in point that a man may be a good lawyer, and yet devote some of his time to the classical pursuits.

Ezekiel Webster was one of those great men, rare instances in the world, who had thrown away ambition; and who preferred to be learned and happy in his course of life, rather than to court the gale and spread his sails, to be wafted along on public opinion. He sought not popularity, but he had it; *that popularity which follows, not that which is run after.*

He watched the signs of the times, and was as good a diviner in politics as any one; but whatever the presages were, he looked at coming events unmoved, leaving their results to Heaven.

For several of the last years of his life, he was curtailing his business in order to devote some portion of the prime of his manhood to literary and scientific pursuits, so congenial to his heart; but in this he was disappointed, for yet while in the fulness of his strength he was called to leave the world, for whose benefit he was formed. The ways of Providence are right, however hidden the laws are from us. It is to be regretted that one so able should have written so little as he has; probably he was waiting for those hours of leisure, in which he was contemplating to form his plan of some literary work. The writer once suggested to him the history of his native State as a subject for his pen, and the thought did not seem unpleasant to him.

No one had a more admirable spirit of criticism than Ezekiel Webster, united with that generous indulgence which only great minds feel and practise. A few months before he died, some symptoms of a disease of the heart were perceptible, but not alarming to his friends; but he knew the uncertainty of human life, and, without any special command, *set his house in order*, and made preparation for his long journey. There is a beauty in that calm, deep, silent, religious feeling, that none but great and pure minds can ever know. After having put all his worldly affairs into a most perfect train for settlement at his death, and wishing his friends to be free from all doubts upon his religious impressions and belief, he sat down and wrote his sentiments on this momentous subject, which were found on his table after his death. This was his last composition. How true it is, that the enjoyment of health, the accumulating of wealth, the pursuits of science, and the love of letters, and the world's applause, sanctioned by the good man's benison, are not for an immortal mind. All these things are, in a great measure, connected with fellow-mortals, and are finite in their influences upon the mind, while religion is a connection with infinity, with Deity; it enters into eternity, leaves time and sense to earth, and by the bright inspirations of faith, takes the *sting from death, and from the grave its victory.*

A great mind, accustomed to "long converse with the invisible world," and seeing, day after day, his friends falling around him, breathes as each descends to the tomb,

How dreary is this gulf! how dark—how void—
The trackless shores, that never were repass'd!
Dread separation! on the depth untried,
Hope falters, and the soul recoils aghast!

Wide round the spacious heavens I cast my eyes;
And shall these stars glow with immortal fire?
Still shine the lifeless glories of the skies!
And could thy bright, thy living soul expire

Far be the thought! The pleasures most sublime;
The glow of friendship, and the virtuous tear;
The soaring wish that scorns the bounds of time,
Chill'd in the vale of death, but languish here.

Sarah Webster, his youngest sister, was the tenth child, and next to him. She married her cousin, Mr. Ebenezer Webster, and always lived in Franklin. She died March 19, 1831, aged twenty-one.

In 1846, Mr. Webster in a letter to a friend, while speaking of his father, says: "The grave has closed upon him, as it has on all my brothers and sisters. We shall soon be all together. But this is melancholy, and I leave it. Dear, dear kindred blood. how I love you all!"

Peace be to their ashes.

Yours truly.

DANIEL WEBSTER IN HIS INFANCY AND BOYHOOD.

Elms Farm, N. H., October —, 1849.

I shall now proceed to speak of the events of Mr. Webster's life.

The first time he appeared in public, before one of those audiences which he has so often delighted,

was when carried to the old church that stood on "Meeting-House Hill," to be christened. His *speech* on that occasion is not reported, nor was there anything recorded as to his manner, or the qualities of his voice; but in the report of his speeches on subsequent occasions, so much has been said about the dignity of his manner, his self-possession, his retorts, his repartees, his indignation when assailed, and of the strength and peculiarity of his voice; we may thence infer something as to what was his deportment on his first appearance. I think he gave the audience a *touch* as to the qualities of his voice.

The ceremony of baptism was performed in the most imposing manner by Rev. Jonathan Searle, who for many years was the clergyman of the parish. You should know something of the man, in order to get an idea of his mode of administration. Regarding himself as an extraordinary personage, and attaching great importance to his high calling and everything pertaining to it, he always claimed and received much homage from the people to whom he preached. He wore a tri-cornered cocked hat, powdered wig, ornamented knee and shoe buckles, with the most ample surplice and gown. While his manner, in all ceremonies of the church, was pompous in the extreme, he was condescending and courteous to people of rank and respectability, and kind to all, no matter how humble. The christening of the child of Colonel Ebenezer Webster was an event of some considerable moment, and, of course, everything due to the occasion was said and done.

Tradition says the day was bright and beautiful;

and the following anecdote is told to show how readily certain persons can step from what they would have us think the sublime, to what others laugh at as the ridiculous. I must tell it to you. I have heard Mr. Webster tell it, as he said it was told to him by one who saw it.

There was a lady of the congregation by the name of Mrs. Clay, doubtless an excellent woman, but she was proud, and passionately fond of dress and display, which was no crime.

Her bonnet was of the most ample dimensions, and at this particular time it was in that respect at the very extreme of fashion. It was, moreover, bedecked with a large veil, numerous bows of ribbons and feathers, among which a fresh wind created much fluttering. The ceremony of the altar being over, this lady, as she was accustomed to do on such occasions, assumed a prominent position in the broad aisle as the congregation was leaving the house, and there waited till Rev. Mr. Searle, Col. Webster and his lady, approached, that she might speak to them, especially to congratulate the latter on the interesting event that had just transpired. Having made her compliments to the party, and patted Daniel on the cheeks, she was walking along by the side of the stately parson across the green. In the midst of the courteous salutations of the pompous clergyman to her ladyship, a mischievous flaw of wind struck her bonnet and carried it away, floating like a balloon on the breeze, whirling and leaping down the hill side. Mrs. Clay, of course, was anxious for the fate of her best bonnet, and spoke to the parson.

"Dear sir, will you pick up my bonnet?"

The parson, of course, condescendingly strutted after it, but he could not so far unbend his dignity as to *run* in the presence of his congregation. His walk was not sufficiently rapid to overtake the bonnet. She again appealed to him, at the same time following close to his heels,—

"Reverend Sir, do stop my bonnet, it will be ruined!"

The parson increased his strides, and, as it hung by a twig, came near capturing it, but just as he was about to clutch it, away it went again. She then concentrated into her voice and manner all her pathos,—

"Do, Reverend and dear Sir, be so good as to hasten on and stop my bonnet; what shall I do!"

The clergyman was now extending his strides to the utmost extent of his long legs, and was on the fastest walk which his dignity would permit, but the bonnet still whirled and twitched on beyond his reach; destruction seemed inevitable; her patience was exhausted; she threw aside all restraint, and, at the top of her voice, forgetting the dignity of the parson, she cried out—

"Searle, you *devil you*, why don't you run?"

This appeal spurred him into a *run*, by which he caught the truant bonnet, and restored it to the half-frantic lady. The race down Meeting-House Hill, by Rev. Mr. Searle and Mrs. Clay, in pursuit of the bonnet, will never be forgotten.

The old church has long since disappeared. The apex of the hill on which it stood is now a part of an

extensive pasture, on which bleating flocks and lowing herds feed at pleasure, or roam over it, unconscious, of course, of any of the past events which have invested it with interest to those who like to know the legends of that neighborhood.

On the spot where the old meeting-house stood I shot a brace of birds which, to-morrow, will be cooked for my dinner, and, after sitting an hour, listening to the stories related by an aged but well-informed farmer, concerning "the rude forefathers of the hamlet," I returned to the Valley of the Merrimack, delighted with a pleasant day's rambling.

After the close of the Revolutionary war, when business of all kinds began to prosper, Col. Webster bought the house still standing in a bend of the old turnpike road, built by one Elizabeth Gale. It is a two-story frame building, to which has since been added a front piazza. Daniel was then a mere child. Soon after this removal, Mr. Haddock, the father of the eminent Professor, built the present mansion-house, and, after occupying it for a short time, transferred it to Col. Webster, in exchange for the one built by Mrs. Gale. Thereupon, Col. Webster removed into it with his family. I described this house and farm in a former letter.

Mr. Webster's first instructress was his mother. She taught him the letters of the alphabet, and, with a watchful anxiety that always distinguished her, was careful that her son devoted as much time as possible to learning. She prophesied in his infancy his future distinction, and fortunately lived to see her prophecy fulfilled. He was in Congress before she died.

Happy woman! She was remarkable for her intellect, her piety, and the truest affections. She was loved and respected by all who knew her, and, more than that, was *venerated* by her children. Mr. Webster has often been heard to say, his mother taught him to read the Bible; he could read that before he went to school.

It is often asserted by those who know the family, that the extraordinary genius with which Mr. Webster is endowed by nature, descended to him on his mother's side; at all events, she was unwearied in her efforts to make him what she wished him to be—the first in the ranks of those around him.

New Hampshire was backward in organizing and providing for common schools. At the time Daniel was old enough to attend, there was no regular school in his vicinity. But the immediate neighbors of Col. Webster, as well as himself, were anxious to have their children taught; and, to accommodate them, a Mr. Chase, a schoolmaster, hired a room in the house of Mr. Sandborn, near this farm, and Daniel, with other small children, went daily to him, to be taught to spell and read. The house is still standing.

The common school law of the State divided each town into two or more school districts. Salisbury was so divided that the district in which he lived extended from the river backward several miles among the hills. In it there were three school-houses—one on the river at this place, one on the north road, and the third in the western part of the district.

The trustees at length employed a Mr. William Hoyt, a schoolmaster by profession, for the district.

This man taught a school for four months in the first school-house, then four months in the middle house, and then the remainder of the year in the most remote.

This routine he repeated annually for several years. Mr. Webster was sent to Mr. Hoyt. The first school-house that he ever entered was built of logs, and stood on the easterly side of the old road, about one hundred yards northerly from this farm, between two ancient butternut trees, but not a vestige of the old house remains.

When Mr. Hoyt occupied the middle school-house, Daniel attended only, carrying his dinner with him in a basket; but when the third house was occupied, Col. Webster paid for his board in the western part of the town. He went on Monday morning, and came home on Saturday, making those journeys on his rather young and tender feet. I drove over this same road yesterday, and fancied I saw Mr. Webster, a little fellow, climbing the hills, crossing the streams, carrying a heavy heart as he went, and bringing a light one on his return.

But Mr. William Hoyt was not eminent as a teacher. He was a good *scribe*, and in the art of penmanship he excelled, but in no other. He taught the boys to read and spell, to write, and to understand, to some extent, the fundamental rules of arithmetic. He was severe in his discipline, and played the tyrant to the extent of his brief authority over the unlucky little fellows who, perchance, went counter to his decrees. A year or two enabled Mr. Webster to learn from him all the pedagogue could teach that was

worth knowing. But William Hoyt had the honor of being one of the teachers of the first man in this country, and his memory is entitled to our respect. "He taught that boy," was his chaplet—his claim to renown.

Under the teaching of this master, Mr. Webster learned to write a beautiful hand.

Among those who taught Mr. Webster, and the next in order to Mr. Chase, was a Master Tappan, now known as Colonel Tappan, who still lives, at the age of eighty-two, and is kindly remembered by his pupil. There he learned to spell; it is said of him there was no word in the spelling book that was not also in his memory. There, too, he learned the rudiments of arithmetic. With his rude slate and pencil he could work out the simple problems, taught by such a master, in such a school. He learned the art of reading well from his excellent father, who was noted for this accomplishment.

His love of elocution, his taste for oratory, his knowledge of true eloquence, which have shone conspicuously on all subsequent occasions, were the result of twigs first bent in the right direction, by hearing his father read as *he could read*, the Bible, Shakspeare and Pope.

Professor Sandborn, who relates many incidents concerning him, says that aged men, who are familiar with his early life, mention, among their earliest recollections of his childhood, a fondness for books above his years. His father kept open doors for all travellers. The teamsters, who came from the North, were accustomed to say, when they arrived at Judge Web-

ster's house, "Come, let us give our horses some oats, and go in and hear little Dan read a Psalm." They always called for him; and, leaning upon their long whip-stocks, listened with delighted attention to the elocution of the young orator.

Yours. truly.

DANIEL WEBSTER A BOY—OUT-DOOR SPORTS—FIRST TIME HE READ THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ELMS FARM, N. H., Oct. — 1849.

Mr. Webster did not, of course, go to school every day. He had a due regard for that old saying: "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." There were Saturday afternoons, holidays, and occasional pretty long vacations, which he hailed with delight—and he frequently took a holiday, as all boys will, on his own account. On these occasions he entered zealously into all kinds of out-door amusements. Besides he did boy's work on his father's farm.

He rode the horse in plowing furrows between rows of corn; he raked the hay, followed the reapers and bound up the wheat as they cut it; he drove the cows to their pastures in the morning and home again at night. No little hands or little feet could accomplish more than his in anything not beyond his strength. I have to-day conversed with an old farmer who, in his boyhood, labored with him in the field many a day.

During the season for "haying and harvesting," Daniel always staid from school, as a matter of course,

and went into the fields with the men to do what he could to gather in the crops, for the hay was to be made while the sun shone, and the grain was to be cut when it was ripe. With his straw hat, his "tow frock and trowsers," his rake or sickle in hand, he worked from morning till night, and never was heard to complain. He shrunk not from industry when it was apparent it could be turned to a good account.

He obtained, by working on the farm, a thorough knowledge of agricultural business, and the taste acquired for it then has continued, and is now his strongest passion. In these fertile fields, beneath these elms, he imbibed his first ideas of farming, which have ripened into a knowledge not surpassed by any agriculturist of the age in which he lives.

In his great speech on "The Agriculture of England," at a meeting of the members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and others interested, at the State House, in Boston, January 13th, 1840, he began by stating that "he regarded agriculture as the *leading interest* of society; and as having in all its relations, a direct and intimate bearing upon human comfort and national prosperity. *He had been familiar with its operations in his youth*, and he had always looked upon the subject with a lively and deep interest." His speeches in England and at Rochester, N. Y., all confirm what I have said.

He had a strong propensity for out-door recreations at that early period of his life, and he has cultivated it from that day to this. No man in the country is more fond of fishing, hunting, sailing, riding, or driving, than Mr. Webster. He has not the least

taste or fondness for in-door amusements. He never played a game of chess or checkers in his life; nor billiards, nor ten-pins. He never played, and it is said, does not know, a game of cards, besides whist, a game which he will play with ladies or gentlemen in the evening, before his early hour for retiring. His passion is, and always was, for out-door recreations. To this he is unquestionably much indebted for the robust constitution he established on arriving at manhood, and which he has sustained throughout his career. In his childhood and youth he was not robust, but on the contrary, he had what was regarded a feeble constitution. He appeared like a youth inclined to consumption.

I went to-day to some of the places where he indulged his propensity for out-door amusements. A quarter of a mile beyond the site of the old schoolhouse, is the hill where he so often went to slide. My informant, an aged lady, says, that in the coldest of the weather, the little fellow could be seen trudging along through the snow with his sled, to join Deacon True's boys, and others, in the exciting but toilsome sport of sliding down hill.

At times the snow covered up the fences, and left nothing to intercept his descent from the top of the hill to the current of the Merrimack. So intent was his mind on this sport, and so regardless of the coldness of the weather on one occasion, that the toes of both his feet were frozen, and he was compelled to suffer the privations of being confined to the house, too lame to walk. He used to say "there was great fun in sliding down hill, but there was not much fun

in hearing his father scold when he stayed out of school to enjoy it."

I went also to the pond where in the summer-time he used to bathe, where he learned the art of swimming, and where, in the winter-time, the water being frozen, he indulged in skating. No one of his years could excel him in either art. These were both invigorating exercises, and not only afforded him great amusement, but trained his physical energies for subsequent labor, which, without it, would have broke down many a more robust frame.

He had a passion for fishing, and it was perhaps as strong in him naturally as it was in old Izaak Walton. I went, to-day, to see the four brooks in which he indulged this propensity whenever he had an opportunity. The name of one is *Punch Brook*, of which I spoke in a former letter, of another *Middle Brook*, of another *Stirrup Iron Brook*, of the fourth *Wigwag Brook*. They were all very near. In days of yore, these brooks were famous for trout fishing, and he knew every hole, every lurking-place, in which these speckled beauties were found, between their entrance into the river, and the fountains whence they flowed. With his rude fishing-rod cut from the bushes, his lines made of horse-hair, than which no better have since been contrived, and his hooks bought of pedlers, as soon as dismissed from school, or released from the task his father gave him to perform, he went to trace those streams, and it was rare indeed that he ever returned without being heavily laden with the trophies of his skill and patience.

His skill in shooting, which in subsequent life has

rendered him famous as a good shot, was early acquired, and all along this valley, up the glens and on the mountain sides, he delighted to roam, with his dog and gun, in pursuit of game. Tradition points out several places where his eminent skill was displayed, and although it is not said of him, as it was of the famous shot, Captain Scott, viz., that all the raccoons and squirrels on seeing *him* in pursuit of them, invariably told the Captain that he need not take the trouble to fire at them, for they were as good as dead, and would come down to meet him at the foot of each tree, yet enough is said to prove that those animals might have told Mr. Webster a similar tale. He never missed them.

His father was very strict in all religious observances, and required, among other things, that his son should go every Sunday to Church, though the distance was about four miles. Mr. Webster complained of the hardship, for he must needs walk all the way. His father said to him:

"I see Deacon True's boys there every Sunday regularly, and have never heard of their complaining."

"Ah! but," said Daniel, "Deacon True's boys live half the way there, and, of course, have only half as far to walk."

"Well," said his father, "you may get up in the morning, dress yourself, and run up to Deacon True's, and go with them; then you will have no farther to walk than they do."

The logic of his father was conclusive; for he never considered it a hardship to be permitted to run up to Deacon True's, to play with his boys, and that

the hardships, if any, lay beyond the Deacon's residence. On every good old New England Sabbath, therefore, when the weather would permit him, Mr. Webster was found at church, notwithstanding the distance.

Mr. Webster himself told me the following anecdote of a bit of fun. When he was about ten years of age, as a great favor his mother gave him half a dollar and permission to visit one of his aunts, distant some ten miles beyond this place. Accordingly he set forth the next morning early, and made the journey on foot. His purpose was to spend several days. On arriving at his place of destination, the first important object that arrested his attention was a splendid fighting-cock, strutting and crowing in the barn-yard. He scanned his apparent powers with secret but delightful anticipations, for one of his neighbors had a conquering rooster, against which he held a grudge, and which was the terror of every cock in this vicinity. As soon as he had passed the usual salutations with his aunt, who was of course delighted to see him, he began to negotiate for the purchase of the game-cock. It resulted in his becoming the owner of the bird for the said half dollar, all he had, which he promptly paid. During the night his anticipations and his impatience for morning to come were so great he could scarcely sleep a wink, tired as he was. At an early hour he was up and had his game-cock safely in his possession. No entreaties on the part of his aunt could induce him to stay a moment after he had had his breakfast.

With the rooster in his arms, he set out for home.

On his return, he had not proceeded far before he passed a barn-yard filled with hens, among which, he spied a cock manifesting his fighting propensities. On seeing what he held in his arms, the cock on his own ground, gave the usual challenge for a battle. No sooner intimated than done, down went this champion in the midst of the flock, and the sparring commenced. The battle was bravely fought on both sides. No lovers of cock-fighting ever saw a more satisfactory contest. But the challenging party bit the dust.

My game cock, said he, stood over his prostrate foe, and flapping his wings, crowed his victory. Thereupon he took his hero in his arms and again trudged on his way. In the course of the next mile he came to another yard. Here he displayed his champion, he was challenged, gave battle, and came off victorious as before, and came near having a battle with another boy of his age. Thus he journeyed on, giving battle at every barn-yard he passed where a cock would fight, always triumphant. At length he reached the yard of his neighbor who owned the cock against which he had the grudge. The day was well-nigh spent. His rooster had fought several times. He doubted the policy of letting him fight the most important battle under such circumstances, but being impatient, and seeing that his hero seemed fresh, for he had carried him in his arms, and inasmuch, as on seeing his antagonist, he seemed fierce for the fight, he let him slip.

The battle began. For a while the contest was an even one; but in ten minutes he had the satisfac-

tion of seeing his hero victorious. He also saw the cock against which he had the grudge and which had again and again driven his own fowls from his own yard, led about by the comb in a manner as degrading as the old Romans led their conquered foes while celebrating their triumphs of arms. Wellington, after the battle of Waterloo, was not better satisfied with the results of the day than he was with the results of his day.

On the left hand going towards the more settled part of the town of Salisbury, known as the Northern Road, on Punch Brook, stands an old saw mill, where Mr. Webster's father, more than sixty years ago, built himself a rude-looking mill. The place is a dark glen, and was then surrounded by a majestic forest, which covered the neighboring hills. The mill was a source of income to Colonel Webster, and he kept it in operation till near the end of his life. To that mill, Mr. Webster, though a small boy, went frequently, when not in school, to assist his father in sawing boards. He was apt in learning anything useful, and soon became so expert in doing everything required, that his services as an assistant were valuable. Hence, the reason for his being employed there when not absolutely required elsewhere. But his time was not misspent or misapplied. After "setting the saw" and "hoisting the gate," and while the saw was passing through the log, which usually occupied from ten to fifteen minutes for each board, Daniel was reading attentively some book he was permitted to take from the house. He had a passion thus early for reading histories and biographies.

There (let it be mentioned to his credit), in that old saw mill, surrounded by forests, in the midst of the great noise which such a mill makes, and this, too, without materially neglecting his task, he made himself familiar with the most remarkable events recorded by the pen of history, and with the lives and characters of the most celebrated persons who had lived in the tides of time. He has never forgotten what he read there. So tenacious is his memory, that he can recite long passages from the old books which he read there, and has scarcely looked at since. The solitude of the scene, the absence of everything to divert his attention, the simplicity of his occupation, the taciturn and thoughtful manner of his father, all favored the process of transplanting every idea found in those books to his own fresh, fruitful and vigorous mind. I have not made a visit to any of the scenes of Mr. Webster's boyhood, more interesting than this old mill. The Academy of Science, his *alma mater*, is not invested with more interest; no, not half so much.

Mr. Webster related to me the following interesting anecdote which had some influence on his after life.

After the Constitution of the United States had been adopted by all the States of the Union, and had gone into operation, of course its good results were apparent, and the people began to read and venerate it. It was printed in all forms and widely circulated. But the first time that he saw it, he found it printed at length on some fine cotton handkerchiefs for sale at a neighboring store. He paid all the money in his

purse for one handkerchief, and carried it home. On the same afternoon he sat under the shade of the old elm tree, near his father's house, and read and re-read that wonderful work of man. Considering the fact that to him more than to any other man, living or dead, is due the credit of being its ablest, its most zealous, and most constant defender, is there not much importance attached to the place where Mr. Webster first read the Constitution?

As I was to-day standing on the identical spot, I could see him in my mind's eye. There he sat, beneath the wide-spreading branches of that old tree, on a rude bench, with the handkerchief spread out in his lap, poring over its wisdom, drinking in ideas which for more than half a century have been shining lights, guiding the footpaths of his countrymen through paths beset with perils, of which the history of the world furnishes no parallels. Fortunate incident!

I take the following anecdote from the letter to which I have before alluded and given to me for this purpose.

"Of a hot day in July—it must have been one of the last years of Washington's administration, I was making hay with my father, just where I now see a remaining elm-tree, about the middle of the afternoon. The Hon. Abiel Foster, M. C., who lived in Canterbury, six miles off, called at the house, and came into the field to see my father. He was a worthy man, college learned, and had been a minister, but was not a person of any considerable natural powers. My father was his friend and supporter.

He talked awhile in the field and went on his way. When he was gone, my father called me to him, and we sat down beneath the elm, on a haycock. He said, 'My son that is a worthy man—he is a member of Congress—he goes to Philadelphia, and gets six dollars a day, while I toil here. It is because he had an education, which I never had. If I had had his early education I should have been in Philadelphia in his place. I came near it, as it was. But I missed it, and now I must work here.' 'My dear father,' said I, 'you shall not work. Brother and I will work for you, and wear our hands out, and you shall rest'—and I remember to have cried,—and I cry now, at the recollection. 'My child,' said he, 'it is of no importance to me—I now live but for my children; I could not give your elder brother the advantages of knowledge, but I can do something for you. Exert yourself—improve your opportunities —*learn*—*learn*—and when I am gone, you will not need to go through the hardships which I have undergone, and which have made me an old man before my time."

Yours truly,

THOS. W. THOMPSON—LAW-OFFICE—LATIN GRAMMAR—REASONS FOR GOING TO AN ACADEMY—GOES TO EXETER—DR. ABBOTT.

ELMS FARM, N. H., September, 1849.

In the year 1791, there came to reside in this town a young lawyer by the name of Thomas W. Thompson, who opened an office a short distance from this,

and boarded with Col. Webster's family. I will tell you more about this gentleman in another letter.

In 1795, Mr. Thompson, having no students or clerks, and being often away on business, induced Daniel to stay in his office while he was absent, to tell his clients, and those who called, where he had gone and when he would be home. He was then in his thirteenth year. Mr. Thompson gave him a Latin grammar, which he committed to memory. He had no object in learning it except to gratify Mr. Thompson. He had never dreamed of studying Latin or Greek, or of going to college, nor had his father thought of any such thing. Daniel expected to follow in the footsteps of his father and elder brothers, to cultivate the soil, and, while a boy, to obtain what was termed a good common school education, that he might be respected as a man. Nobody had yet discovered the giant intellect God had bestowed upon him, unless, perhaps, his devoted mother. But the facility with which he learned the Latin Grammar, and the tenacity of his memory, arrested the attention of Mr. Thompson, who spoke of it to Col. Webster. In the Spring of 1796, the idea of sending him to an academy to qualify him to be a *school teacher*, was entertained by his father. Mr. Thompson advised it, and his mother *urged* it. His brother Joseph, who had arrived at the age of manhood, favored his going, by way of the joke which I related to you in a previous letter. He said, inasmuch as Daniel was not as smart by nature as the other members of the family, he hoped his father would send him to an academy, so that with the advantages it would give

him, he would be equal to his brothers and sisters; or, to use his own words, "know as much as the rest of them."

The fact that Daniel had what was regarded a slender constitution, was thrown into the scale to favor the idea of his going to school, to qualify himself for doing some less laborious work than that of the farm.

To send one of ten children away to an academy, perhaps at the expense of the others, was, in the eye of Col. Webster, a partiality. He hesitated in taking such a step, indeed, he doubted whether it would promote either Daniel's happiness or prosperity. There have been many instances in which fathers have reasoned thus. He could not of course foresee the great results that followed. But considering what was said by Mr. Thompson about his capacity for learning, and taking into account the young man's constitution, Col. Webster finally came to the conclusion that it would be well for Daniel to qualify himself as a schoolmaster. He could in that case work on the farm during the summer months, and in the cold winter season when his health would not permit him to work out of doors, he could teach a school. Other young men had done as much in this vicinity, and the experiment had proved profitable so far as the cost of them was concerned, and above all highly advantageous to the young men themselves. These considerations induced his prudent father to send him to the academy; ninety-nine of every hundred would have reasoned like him. Could the book of the future have been opened to him when he resolved to

place his son on the road to fame, how the vision would have stirred his heart! When his father's judgment was once convinced, he never drew back from his purposes. He was a just and excellent man.

On the 24th May, 1796, on a bright and sunny day, Mr. Webster set out for Phillips' Academy, in Exeter, in the County of Rockingham, in this State. He was a small boy for one of his age. At that time, there were few, if any, light carriages in this part of the State, and the roads, in all directions, were bad; most of the travelling, for any considerable distance, was done on horseback. One of the neighbors wished to send a horse and side-saddle to Exeter for a lady to ride to this place. He availed himself of this opportunity. Col. Webster mounted his own horse, and Daniel, dressed in his new homemade suit, mounted the horse with the side-saddle. They journeyed on slowly, down the Merrimack to the mouth of the Sun Cook River, and then up its valley to Allenstown, where they stayed the first night. Although the distance was not great, yet the little fellow, unaccustomed to riding far, was tired enough. The next day, refreshed by sleep, they set out again, and continued their journey as far as the town of Poplin, where they stayed the second night. Mr. Webster had never been so far from home before. The third day they reached their place of destination, long before night.

Although his father was born at Kingston, six miles distant, yet there were but two or three persons in Exeter whom he knew. One was a Mr. Cass, the father of his Excellency, Governor Cass. Another

was a Mr. Clifford. With the latter, Col. Webster procured a place for Daniel to board, so that he took his lodging there the third night. The next day, he went with his father to the academy to apply for admission. Benjamin Abbott, LL. D., was then at the head of the academy. He felt and carefully maintained the dignity and importance of his position. To him, of course, the application for admission was made. The learned Doctor, then a young man, was seated in the great hall. He always did every thing official with pompous ceremony.

"Well, sir," said he, putting on his cocked hat, "let the young gentleman be presented for examination."

Mr. Webster, with his hat in his hand, modestly advanced, and stood before him. He was in a strange place, and strangers were around him, but he was self-possessed. It is his nature to be self-possessed.

"What is your age?"

"Fourteen."

"Take this Bible, my lad, and read that chapter."

The chapter given him to read was 22d chapter, Gospel according to St. Luke. A description of the conspiring of the Jews, the betrayal of Christ by Judas, the denial by Peter, &c. Daniel took the book, and read in a clear tone, with due emphasis, as he had been taught by his father to read. He was equal to the occasion. He was able to concentrate his mind on the matter, and to control his manner. The Doctor listened with astonishment; and, as the young man before him proceeded, giving full effect to every word of that beautiful narration, he seemed in

a trance, and never interrupted him. He read to the end. Such a trial would have been severe for most boys, but in that exercise Daniel was perfectly at home. He shut up the book and handed it to Dr. Abbott, who asked him no more questions.

"Young man," said he, "you are qualified to enter this institution."

He had never before heard the chapter better read.

That school was founded in 1781, by one John Phillips, LL. D.; hence its name. He made it liberal donations; $100,000 during his life, and at his death $50,000 more: and it had already acquired a high reputation. It was regarded as the best literary and scientific institution in the State. In 1795, the year before Daniel went there, Dr. Phillips had died, bequeathing to it a large portion of his wealth. This raised it almost to the importance of a college. The building stood on a plain near the centre of the town, and it was well provided with accommodations for the different branches of instruction. Among other advantages it possessed was a large hall for declamation and the annual exhibitions. The institution was endowed with a salary for the Principal, and a salary for a Professorship besides. Phillips had made it independent.

This venerable man (Dr. Abbott) retired from the head of this institution in 1839, having presided over it for fifty years, and having, for a considerable time before his promotion to the place of Principal, been engaged in the humblest ranks of instruction. He has been, in fact, a schoolmaster of sixty years

standing. He has withdrawn to the repose of his family, after an amount of labor and usefulness which has no parallel among the teachers of this country. The endowment of this Academy, and the respectability of its corps of teachers, placed it on a par with not a few American Colleges; and it was for many years without a rival as a school of preparation for College. A thorough English education was furnished by it to those who were not seeking for classical attainments. Other schools and academies have since sprung up in various parts of the country, which may have diminished the relative importance of this, but without affecting the merits of the faithful men who have maintained its repute, and have given so useful an impulse to the general cause of public education.

Among the three thousand boys who have been also taught by Dr. Abbott, at that School, are Lewis Cass, Levi Woodbury, Alexander H. and Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, George Bancroft, Henry Ware, Jr., John G. Palfrey, John A. Dix, and Joseph S. Buckminster—all eminent men, who have made their mark on the time. The Doctor possessed, in a high degree, those personal qualifications of a teacher, which, in all countries, and under all systems of education, constitute the most important—the indispensable requisites for success. In these qualifications Dr. Abbott stands pre-eminent. He is a thorough classical scholar—an expert in all the branches which he assumes to teach. He has that self-knowledge which gave him a ready intuition of the modes of thought and the springs of action in other minds,

especially those of the young, upon whom he is exerting his influence.

No one is better versed than himself in that difficult subject, "the human nature of boys," the want of which knowledge has disabled so many eminent men (even in some of our Universities) from the efficient performance of the functions of a teacher.

It is said of him, by one who knew him well, that by this happy degree of self-knowledge, and consequent power of adjustment to the capacities and tendencies of youthful minds, Dr. Abbott was always able to engage their attention, and to communicate with facility the desired instruction; a practical art, for which the highest accomplishments, and the most earnest and praiseworthy diligence can never be substituted with due effect in producing the best fruits of education. The strict order and application to study, which mark the department of the efficient teacher, never failed to be visible under the administration of Dr. Abbott, who secured obedience and diligence by his sincerity and straightforwardness of purpose, dignity of manners and regularity of system; while his constant aim was to cultivate the better feelings of his pupils, to inspire them with self-respect and a love of truth, and to incite them to the pursuit of good learning for its own sake. Mr. Webster and those above-named, in common with all who wished to succeed, felt that no rules could be broken without detriment to themselves, even if there were a chance for impunity; and that, under so considerate, just, and kind a teacher, no requisitions would be imposed that were not designed for the general good.

Submission was thus rendered easy without being servile; and to offend was not only regarded as a breach of law, but of an honorable confidence reposed in them by one who was more grieved than offended at their faults, and whose highest satisfaction was in their progress and success.

Mr. Webster remained at that Academy only nine months. He gave his attention chiefly to the English branches, viz., grammar, arithmetic, geography, and rhetoric; but he incidentally pursued the study of the Latin language. His success in all was such as to excite the highest admiration of Mr. Abbott. Having discovered in the very outset the capacity of the young gentleman, he gave him full scope, and brought him forward as rapidly as he could. When Mr. Webster left that school, at the age of fourteen, he understood the English and the Latin languages.

He had responded to the weekly call for a composition in writing, "but he could not make a speech." On this subject he says of himself, in a short memoir of Joseph S. Buckminster: "My first lessons in Latin were directed by Joseph Stevens Buckminster, at that time an Assistant at the Academy. I made tolerable progress in all the branches I attended under his instruction, but there was one thing I could not do; I could not make a declamation—I could not speak before the school. The kind and excellent Buckminster especially sought to persuade me to perform the exercise of declamation, like other boys, but I could not do it. Many a piece did I commit to memory, and rehearse in my own room, over and over

again; but when the day came, when the school collected, when my name was called, and I saw all eyes turned upon my seat, I could not raise myself from it. Sometimes the masters frowned, sometimes they smiled. Mr. Buckminster always pressed and entreated with the most winning kindness, that I would only venture *once;* but I could not command sufficient resolution; and when the occasion was over, I went home and wept bitter tears of mortification."

Here, then, is a striking fact: the man who, during the first nine months at an Academy, though a good reader, and naturally self-possessed, could not deliver a speech! and yet, afterwards he became the greatest Orator of his time! Bashful boys, take courage.

Dr. Abbott still lives, and the proudest act of his life is his teaching that boy. He talks with enthusiasm of the exploits of his pupil, and Mr. Webster never fails to express his obligations to Mr. Abbott for the pains he took with his education during the brief period it was his happiness to be under his charge.

The following description of the retirement of the Doctor in 1839, you may have seen, but I will give it in connection with what I am writing. Having attained the age of seventy-seven years, and having filled the measure of his long and faithful services, Dr. Abbott announced his determination to resign his office at the conclusion of the summer term. This was to a large number of his pupils, to all whose health or business would permit their attendance, a signal for a spontaneous rally once more around their

venerable teacher and friend, to offer him a heartfelt tribute of gratitude and respect. His portrait, painted by Harding for this occasion, will faithfully transmit the lineaments of his countenance to after days.

The festival at Exeter, near the end of August in that year, surpassed in interest the previous bicentennial celebration of the founding of Harvard University, in 1836. The dining hall selected for the festival, was filled by a long procession of Dr. Abbott's former pupils, from all parts of the country, on more gladdened by the familiar salutation, and grown young again in the presence of their ancient instructor; renewing the friendships which time had interrupted; revisiting the homes of the hospitable inhabitants which had sheltered their early days; tracing once more the scenes of their boyish sports, and sadly bidding farewell to friends, whom most of them were to see no more.

Political and all other divisions were for the time forgotten, as they listened to the eloquent and appropriate addresses of Mr. Webster, E. Everett, and the other speakers whom the occasion inspired. All eyes were directed toward the man of the day. Dr. Abbott had prepared an address to the assembly. They clustered about him in breathless expectation. He arose to tender his acknowledgments and a parting benediction. The scenes and events of so many years came crowding upon his mind. His "boys" of days long gone by, were gathered in his presence with every demonstration of the warmest attachment. His eye fell upon those whom he had instructed, counselled, guided, and for whom his prayers had

so often ascended to the throne of mercy. Some had fallen asleep. Perhaps at that moment of intense emotion the image of his lamented son, taken from him in early life, might have passed before his mind, as it glanced from the present to the lost. Overcome by the conflict of his emotion, he faltered and paused. His utterance was choked, his eyes were filled with tears, and he sank into his seat, wholly unable to proceed—amid the sympathy, the enthusiasm, and the overwhelming applause of the whole concourse. It is difficult to describe a scene like this, more eloquent than words, and ineffaceable from the memory of all who were present. It was the index of an honest and true fame, more precious than the richest patrimony to his surviving relatives.

It was among the most fortunate events of Mr. Webster's life that he had such a teacher in the outset.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER TEACHES A SELECT SCHOOL—A FROLIC—REV. SAMUEL WOOD—PREPARES FOR COLLEGE—ENTERS DARTMOUTH.

ELMS FARM, N. H., Sept. —, 1849.

After the return of Mr. Webster from Exeter Academy in February, 1797, he was anxious to avail himself of the advantages his education gave him. He was rather young to teach a school, but he felt himself qualified for the task, and he sought an opportunity. William Wirt, Silas Wright, and an army of the first men in this country, and espe-

cially in this State, have pursued a similar course in their career. Three-fourths of all the students in New Hampshire teach school occasionally, either more or less. Among his associates, and persons of his own age, a class was formed for his teaching, which occupied an apartment in the house of his uncle, William Webster, on the North Road. It was for only a short time in the latter part of the winter. The class was composed of boys and girls. He gave them lessons to the utmost of their ability to learn, and he continued his own studies at the same time. But it was not "all work and no play." The teacher and the pupils had many a frolic together. I will relate one as a specimen. I give it to you as it was told to me to-day by one who was one of the party.

The whole class and the teacher were invited to the farm of Captain Sawyer, on which Mr. Webster was born, to eat apples and drink cider. That farm was famous for good apples and other fruit.

Entertainments of this kind were frequent among the farmers in Salisbury at that period, if not at this day. I dare say "apple peelings" are not yet discontinued.

They assembled in the school-room in the evening, a bright moonlight night, with fine sleighing; but there were no horses or sleighs as there are now, for carrying large parties. They had to resort to another expedient.

Daniel's uncle, William, had a fine yoke of four-year-old steers, well fed, and very fast walkers. He had also a large sled, with an ample box for a dozen

such passengers. This team was yoked to the sled, the box filled with straw, and all the party, bent on enjoying themselves, went "aboard," and a glorious frolic they had of it. Mr. Webster, though the schoolmaster, was younger than many of the pupils. Their relative positions were temporarily suspended, and he held back nothing that he could do or say to enrich the hilarity of the occasion. The events of that joyful evening will never be forgotten by anybody who then lived here.

But Mr. Webster about this time made the acquaintance, and secured the lasting and ardent friendship of Rev. Samuel Wood, LL. D., of Boscawen (a place not far off), who was, for more than half a century, minister of the Gospel in that town, and justly distinguished for his learning and piety. I will tell you something about him. He graduated at Dartmouth College, and at the commencement, in 1779, he delivered the valedictory oration. Speaking of the interruption to the progress of education which the Revolution had occasioned, he spoke his sentiments on the subject of education:

"How sad," said he, "are the consequences when a people unite to neglect the propagation of education, not to mention the many instances of the kind recorded in history; our eyes have seen, our ears have heard, and our fathers have told us, how education exalted the land of their nativity! But, alas! those halcyon days are over and gone; and we feel the dire effects. Else what meaneth this din of war in our land, with garments rolled in blood,—this train of Britain's artillery put in array against us? Those

lightnings that flash from her brazen batteries, and the thunders that break from those smoky columns with storms pregnant with leaden hail, promiscuous instruments of death."

He was more than a clergyman sometimes is; he was a benefactor, a patron of learning, and a dispenser of the blessings of education. I cannot speak too highly of him. His whole time and all the means at his disposal were devoted to the happiness and prosperity of the youth within his reach. He believed in and acted on the principle, that the greatest good man can do his fellow-man is to make him happy. He believed happiness attended learning. His soul knew no bounds.

His arms were open to every young man who was striving for an education. Every one, when known, was invited to share his hospitality and to receive his instruction. It made no difference to that good man whether he did or did not receive remuneration. It is said that great numbers of young men have received his tuition, many of whom have lived in his house gratuitously. He has personally instructed 155 pupils in his own house. Of this number, 105 entered college, from 40 to 50 entered the ministry, 20 the profession of the law, and 6 or 7 that of medicine. His pupils were his only pride; he beheld among them Governors, and Councillors of State, Judges, and Members of Congress. But few towns, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, have educated more young men than this; some of whom take their rank among the first advocates, not only in this State, but in the United States. Their names are

as follows: Moses Eastman, 1794; Moses Sawyer, 1799; Daniel Webster, 1801; Ezekiel Webster, Ebenezer O. Fifield, 1803; Thomas H. Pettingill, 1804; Nathaniel Sawyer, 1805; John True, 1806; Ichabod Bartlett, Valentine Little, 1808; James Bartlett, Benjamin Pettingill, 1812; Joseph Wardwell, 1813; Charles B. Hadduck, 1816; Benjamin Huntoon, 1817; William T. Hadduck, 1819; Joseph B. Eastman, 1821. They all graduated at Dartmouth College, with one exception. The Salisbury Social Library consists of between three and four hundred volumes, and annual additions are made to it.

He saw the mighty talents that gleamed in young Mr. Webster, and at once resolved in his own mind that such extraordinary gifts must not, should not, remain in obscurity. At the time Mr. Webster made his acquaintance, Mr. Wood was one of the trustees of Dartmouth College, and was on intimate terms with the faculty; he therefore exerted himself to get him into that institution. He was often at his house and at his table; he talked with that great Dr. of Divinity, and in his presence, with his students who were preparing for college.

No young man was ever more modest or unpretending than Mr. Webster; he had not then dreamed of so great an enterprise, so great an advantage, as going through that or any other university. In his mind, the thing was as much beyond his reach as the sky over his head. He had no vaulting ambition, nor discontentment with his position, but he loved learning and the society of learned men. Whatever came before him he eagerly devoured. No topic of

interest could be suggested which he was willing to relinquish till he knew all about it—its length, breadth, weight and depth. This was the natural bent of his mind. Mr. Webster and his father had conversed on the subject, and Ezekiel had been taking a part in the conversation, but, on the whole, the two young men thought it too much to be undertaken by them.

Accustomed as Dr. Wood was to measure the capacity of young men, and to estimate their relative strength, he did not fail to see, what his countrymen and the whole world wherever civilization had gone, has since seen and is daily seeing, viz., the superiority of his intellect.

This reverend gentleman, and Mr. Abbott of the Exeter Academy, were intimate friends. Both had discovered the promising talents of young Mr. Webster, and both were anxious that he should proceed in his career, which they foresaw led to eminence. With the testimony borne by Mr. Abbott, Mr. Wood went to Col. Webster, told him their opinions, and recommended him to send Mr. Webster to college. His father took the matter into consideration, and finally resolved to do what was recommended by such high authority. Mr. Wood proposed to attend to his preparatory studies.

In a narrow and quite secluded road which leads from this valley near the mouth of Stirrup Iron Brook, towards the residence of Mr. Wood, as Mr. Webster was driving with his father in a small sleigh called a "pung," he was told for the first time he was to be sent to college. The announcement startled him, but he eagerly assented. In a moment the

mighty mountain he had to climb rose before his imagination, but "he screwed up his courage to the sticking place," and boldly commenced the ascent, and never turned back till he had reached, as you have seen, the pinnacle of fame. I drove over the place to-day, with one familiar with the circumstances I have related, and I could not but feel that a deep interest attached itself to the spot where his destiny and where the current of his thoughts were so completely changed by so important an announcement.

I have heard Mr. Webster relate the story, and describe the various sensations he felt. At one moment he laid his head on his father's bosom and wept. At another moment he felt as much pride and exultation as ever was felt by a Roman Consul to whom a triumph had been decreed.

He commenced his preparation for College. It must be borne in mind he had been only nine months at the Academy. As late as the month of June he had never opened a Greek Grammar for studying, and yet he was to enter Dartmouth in August! A short time, indeed. Mr. Wood had a class of young men then fitting themselves for the same purpose. They were reviewing Cicero's Orations. Mr. Webster had never read one of them. He entered the same class, and opening the book at the pages they were reviewing, he read them fluently and understandingly, as it were by intuition. Their language seemed to be his own language. He could think in the same strain; and he has been heard to say that no task was ever so easily accomplished as his reading Cicero. But not so with Greek. He did not like the language, and

would never take the trouble to understand it any farther than was absolutely required by his Professor. It was not because he could not learn that or any other language with facility, but he did not fancy it, and never tried to make himself a good Greek scholar. The English and Latin he thought sufficient for his purposes. Had he intended to be a Greek Professor, he would have thought otherwise and done otherwise.

Mr. Webster has often related the following anecdote, which is well told by Professor Sanborn, whose words I substitute for my own. His recreations then were the same which have occupied his leisure hours in later life. In his rambles among the neighboring woods, his rifle was his constant companion:

> ——————"linoque solebat et hamo
> Decipere, et calamo salientes ducere pisces."

"His kind mentor once ventured to suggest his fears lest young Daniel's example, in devoting so much time to his favorite amusements, might prove injurious to the other boys. He did not complain that his task was neglected, or that any lesson was imperfectly prepared. This suggestion was sufficient. The sensitive boy could not bear the suspicion of any dereliction of duty. The next night was devoted to study. No sleep visited his eyes. His teacher appeared in the morning to hear his recitation. He could read his hundred lines without mistake. He was nowhere found tripping in syntax or prosody. As his teacher was preparing to leave, young Daniel requested him to hear a few more lines. Another hundred was read. Breakfast was repeatedly an-

nounced. The good doctor was impatient to go, and asked his pupil how much further he could read. 'To the end of the twelfth book of the Æneid,' was the prompt reply. The doctor never had occasion to reprove him again. His study hours ever after were sacred. In less than a year, he read, with his teacher, Virgil and Cicero ; and, in private, two large works of Grotius and Puffendorf, written in Latin."

In the month of August, 1797, Mr. Wood proposed that Mr. Webster should enter college with the class that had been long preparing and had read all the books necessary to enable its members to enter with decided advantages. That good man went to the Faculty, personally, to recommend him, "not so much for what he had learned as for what he told them he could learn if he had an opportunity." He was then only fifteen years old, and his advantages, as you have seen, had not been great. But relying on the influence of Mr. Wood with the Faculty, as well as upon his ability to perform what he should promise, he made his arrangements to go, unprepared as he was, from the want of time and the absence of the requisite books.

A near neighbor, who was engaged in the domestic manufacture of clothes, with great dispatch fitted him out with a new suit of blue clothing—coat, vest and pantaloons—for the occasion of his first visit at Hanover and his examination.

When thus prepared, he set out on horseback. On his way he encountered a violent storm, which lasted two days, raised a flood, carried away bridges, delayed his arrival, made it necessary in one in-

stance for him to travel twenty miles farther than the usual distance, and near the end of his journey drenched him with rain.

When Mr. Webster arrived, the Faculty for his examination was in session, and his presence was required immediately. On going to his room he found that the soaking rain had started the color of his new suit, and that from head to foot, under clothing, skin and all, he was as blue as an indigo-bag. No time was to be lost. He improved his plight all he could, yet, blue as he was, he presented himself before his examiners, that they might determine his qualifications to enter their institution.

Professor Shurtliff, now one of the Faculty, entered that College at the same time, and has often told the story of his first meeting Mr. Webster. He says:

"When I came to enter this Institution in 1797, I put up, with others from the same Academy, at what is now called the *Olcott House*, which was then a tavern. We were conducted to a chamber, where we might brush our clothes and make ready for examination. A young man, a stranger to us all, was soon ushered into the room. Similarity of object rendered the ordinary forms of introduction needless. We learned that his name was Webster, also where he had studied, and how much Latin and Greek he had read, which I think was just to the limit prescribed by law at that period, and which was very much below the present requisition."

When Mr. Webster appeared before the Faculty, he, in good-humor has said of himself, he "was not

only *black* Dan but *blue* Dan." However, with self-possession and great tact, he narrated what time he had occupied, what books he had read, and what opportunities he had improved for study, and especially the mishaps that had befallen him on the way there. "Thus you see me," said he, "as I am, if not entitled to your approbation, at least to your sympathy." He answered the questions addressed to him without embarrassment and to his best ability. With the aid of the Rev. Mr. Wood's influence, he passed what he looked to as a fiery ordeal, and entered on his career at College as a member of the Freshmen class. A fortunate day for Dartmouth College.

Hon. John Wheelock, LL. D., was then the President. Hon. Bezaleel Woodward and Rev. John Smith, D. D., were among the eminent Professors. Mr. Webster was there, as I have shown you, more through the influence of Dr. Wood than because he was thoroughly prepared. He had not read the books which were set down among the requisites for admission. From the month of March to the month of August, under the direction of Mr. Wood, he had looked into some of them—as many as he could in so short a time—but others he had not even opened.

He was not, therefore, prepared to compete with, much less to excel, the older and more thoroughly prepared members of his class. Had he occupied a year more in his preparatory studies, he would have stood on a par with any of them in all the branches of learning to which their attention was at any time called. As it was, he stood at the foot of his class in the beginning, and was compelled to delve into new

books, the outsides of which he had never before seen, to keep pace with his fellows, while some of his classmates were only leisurely reviewing what they had before read. This was a disadvantage which he always felt, and often spoke of in his after life.

Professor Sanborn asks the following question: What one of those College idlers, who talk so flippantly about the idleness of Daniel Webster, when a student, had prepared himself for a like station in two short months? The students of that day were deprived of many of the comforts and luxuries of life which are now so liberally enjoyed. This learned Professor also says Mr. Webster at once took the position in it which he has since held in the intellectual world. By the unanimous consent, both of teachers and classmates, he stood at the head of his associates in study; and was as far above them then, in all that constitutes human greatness, as he is now.

At that time, the studies of the Freshmen's class, the first year, were the Greek and Latin languages, the rules for speaking and composition, and the elements of mathematics. Since that day, the number and character of the text or class books required to be studied, I am told, have gradually increased with the progress of public improvement. In the study of the Latin language, and in the rules of speaking and composition, he was perfectly at home. His Virgil and Cicero were, to him, charmed volumes. He read them more for the pleasure they afforded, than as a task imposed on a school-boy. They constituted a theme for his eloquence when speaking to his College fellows, on every proper occasion.

The language in which those great men wrote, was to him a brilliant transparency, through which he could see their thoughts as others see physical objects; and his young but searching mind revelled among those thoughts as with congenial spirits. The Latin Dictionary and Grammar were in his memory, and the rapidity with which he soon read all the Latin authors, terse and good, marked him as a prodigy. So it was with the rules of speaking and composition. His translations of the Latin authors as he read them, and his essays in writing, submitted for examination, enabled him to reduce to practice what those rules taught him in theory. There was a charm about speaking and writing which had enchanted him during the short time he was at Exeter. Although, at that time, he was too modest or too timid to stand out before the spectators, and deliver a speech, as I told you in a former letter, yet he felt, and he frequently says, that if he had a desire, with respect to the future, at that early stage of his career, it was to write as Virgil and Tacitus wrote, to speak as Cicero spoke. This he knew he could not do, unless he could *think* like them. In the very outset, having made himself master of the rules of speaking and composition, as far as the best authors could instruct him; having acquired, also, the graces of oratory; and, being by nature self-possessed, he never mounted the rostrum without commanding attention. There was a dignity in his manner, a grace in his delivery, with courteous deference to all present, that never failed, even then, to raise admirers. That large forehead, and those dark, penetrating eyes you have so

often seen, were as visible then as now. No judge of men could look at him, and not say God made him extraordinary. Every student in that College acknowledged and deferred to his great talents. The whole Faculty, too, sanctioned by their words, their actions, and the respect they paid him, the opinion which the students entertained.

Professor Shurtliff, one of his classmates, also speaks of him as follows:

"Mr. Webster, while in College, was remarkable for his steady habits, his intense application to study, and his punctual attendance upon all the prescribed exercises. I know not that he was absent from a recitation, or from morning and evening prayers in the Chapel, or from public worship on the Sabbath; and I doubt if ever a smile was seen upon his face during any religious exercise. He was always in his place, and with a decorum suited to it. He had no collision with any one, nor appeared to enter into the concerns of others, but emphatically *minded his own business.*

"But as steady as the sun, he pursued with intense application the great object for which he came to College. This I conceive was the secret of his popularity in College, and his success in subsequent life."

The venerable Judge Woodward, the Professor of Natural Philosophy, (who died shortly after Mr. Webster left College,) often spoke of him in high terms. Said he,—"*That man's victory is certain who reaches the heart through the medium of the understanding. He* (Mr. Webster) *gained me by*

combating my opinions, for I often attacked him merely to try his strength."

That learned and aged Professor, when he first made Mr. Webster's acquaintance, predicted his future eminence, and took infinite pleasure in assisting to lay the foundation stones of what he felt was to be a magnificent building. These circumstances, and these flattering indications, induced him to direct his steps early to the fields of oratory. From his conversations with well informed men, he obtained a knowledge of the manner of such men as Fisher Ames, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Patrick Henry, Alexander Hamilton, and other great men, who at that day were distinguished as orators. From journals and other sources, he acquired a knowledge of the style of Pitt, Burke, and others, eminent on the other side of the Atlantic. The first step towards emulating them, he conceived was, to ascertain who were truly eminent, and then, how they became so. As early as possible, he acquired this information; and then it was that he discovered that theory concerning eloquence, which he so graphically described years afterwards, in his eulogy on Adams and Jefferson. Hear him! You will never tire.

"True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it, they cannot reach it. It

comes, if it comes at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour; then words have lost their power, and rhetoric is vain, and all the elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued,—as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward—right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence; or rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence; it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action."

Acting on this theory, Mr. Webster conceived it was not enough for him to have a good voice, a fluent speech, accompanied with graceful gestures and a commanding person, to be eloquent, but he must, in reality, be *the man;* he must have the *thought;* he must be qualified by mental endowments and acquirements for all the occasions which might call forth eloquence, and then, and then only, could he be an eloquent man. Without these, he would be like a shining casket without its jewels.

It was one of the peculiar features of this college that after exacting the ordinary recitations or lessons

the minds of the students were allowed to follow the bent of their own inclinations. There was no uniformity of coats, caps, or *thoughts;* consequently each one could distinguish himself if he had the power, in other ways than by being prompt at prayers, prompt at recitations, and prompt in obeying all the little exactions which in other schools are too often the only merits recognised by the faculty, and the only basis on which claims to collegiate honors stand. Although Mr. Webster was careful to observe all the requirements, and was remarkable for his *punctuality* in every duty or engagement, yet he did not consider these qualifications as all that was desirable.

Mr. Webster was distinguished (says my informant) the first year for his great knowledge beyond the range of his daily lessons, and much more for his bold and independent manner of thinking and expressing his opinions on all subjects which came within the range of his reading or observation.

But, in the study of the Greek languages and mathematics, he did no more than was allotted him to do to keep along with his class. The bent of his mind was not in that direction.

During his second year at college he continued to study the Latin and Greek languages, reading new books, and also proceeded to the study of geography, logic, and the higher branches of mathematics, as prescribed by the rules of the College. Geography, ancient and modern, delighted him; and during that year he made great proficiency in this branch of his education. Logic was a study particularly suited to his taste and mind.

Professor Sanborn also relates the following anecdote:—After a residence of two years at college, he spent a vacation at home. He had tasted the sweets of literature, and enjoyed the victories of intellectual effort. He loved the scholar's life. He felt keenly for the condition of his brother Ezekiel, who was destined to remain on the farm, and labor to lift the mortgage from the old homestead, and furnish the means of his brother's support. Ezekiel was a farmer in spirit and in practice. He led his laborers in the field, as he afterwards led his class in Greek. Daniel knew and appreciated his superior intellectual endowments. He resolved that his brother should enjoy the same privileges with himself. That night the two brothers retired to bed, but not to sleep. They discoursed of their prospects. Daniel utterly refused to enjoy the fruit of his brother's labor any longer. They were united in sympathy and affection, and they must be united in their pursuits. But how could they leave their beloved parents, in age and solitude, with no protector? They talked and wept, and wept and talked till dawn of day. They dared not broach the matter to their father. Finally, Daniel resolved to be the orator upon the occasion. Judge Webster was then somewhat burdened with debts. He was advanced in age, and had set his heart upon having Ezekiel as his helper. The very thought of separation from both his sons was painful to him. When the proposition was made, he felt as did the Patriarch of old, when he exclaimed, "Joseph is not * * *, and will ye also take Benjamin away?" A family council was called. The mother's opinion was asked. She

was a strong-minded woman. She was not blind to the superior endowments of her sons. With all a mother's partiality, however, she did not over-estimate their powers. She decided the matter at once. Her reply was: "I have lived long in the world, and have been happy in my children. If Daniel and Ezekiel will promise to take care of me in my old age, I will consent to the sale of all our property at once, and they may enjoy the benefit of that which remains after our debts are paid." This was a moment of intense interest to all the parties. Parents and children all mingled their tears together, and sobbed aloud, at the thought of separation. The father yielded to the entreaties of the sons and the advice of his wife. Daniel returned to college, and Ezekiel took his little bundle in his hand, and sought on foot the scene of his preparatory studies. In one year he joined his younger brother in college.

In the third year, besides the languages, Daniel read Natural and Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric. Besides the lessons daily learned by his class and himself, he read with intense satisfaction, "Watts on the Mind," and "Locke on the Understanding;" he committed them to memory. When he came to these great lights, he began to see more clearly than ever the nature of the mind, and proceeded to the vigorous discipline of his own powers of analysis; so that, ere the Faculty were aware of it, they had a Logician in their presence, whose skill in argument and deep penetration baffled all their learning and experience.

Mr. Webster was now in his seventeenth year.

His manly character, his dignified deportment, and his acknowledged abilities had become well known. The patriotic citizens of Hanover, old and young, in College, and out of it, united in an invitation to him, to deliver an oration on the 4th of July. This he accepted, although the time for preparation was short. The ringing of bells, and the thundering cannon ushered in the day. The ceremonies were conducted with great pomp and solemnity. The concourse of people was large. Anthems were sung. The glorious declaration itself was read; and then, he came forward, and with all the graces of oratory, delivered the oration for the occasion. I have taken great pains to get a copy of it. One of his classmates has preserved it in a pamphlet, on the title-page of which I find the following:

AN ORATION

Pronounced at Hanover, New Hampshire, the 4th of July, 1800, being the Twenty-Fourth Anniversary of American Independence.

BY DANIEL WEBSTER,
Member of the Junior Class, Dart. University.

"Do thou, great Liberty, inspire our souls,
And make our lives in thy possession happy,
Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence."—*Addison.*

Published by request of the Subscribers.

Printed at Hanover,
BY MOSES DAVIS.

1800.

ORATION.

Countrymen, Brethren, and Fathers: We are now assembled to celebrate an anniversary, ever to be

held in dear remembrance by the sons of freedom. Nothing less than the birth of a nation—nothing less than the emancipation of three millions of people from the degrading chains of foreign dominion, is the event we commemorate.

Twenty four years have this day elapsed since these United States first raised the standard of Liberty, and echoed the shouts of Independence!

Those of you, who were then reaping the iron harvest of the martial field, whose bosoms then palpitated for the honor of America, will, at this time, experience a renewal of all that fervent patriotism; of all those indescribable emotions which then agitated your breasts. As for us, who were either then unborn, or not far enough advanced beyond the threshold of existence, to engage in the grand conflict for Liberty, we now most cordially unite with you, to greet the return of this joyous anniversary, to welcome the return of the day that gave us Freedom, and to hail the rising glories of our country!

On occasions like this, you have hitherto been addressed, from the stage, on the nature, the origin, the expediency of civil government.

The field of political speculation has here been explored by persons possessing talents to which the speaker of the day can have no pretensions. Declining, therefore, a dissertation on the principles of civil polity, you will indulge me in slightly sketching those events which have originated, nurtured and raised to its present grandeur this new empire.

As no nation on the globe can rival us in the rapidity of our growth since the conclusion of the Revo-

lutionary War, so none, perhaps, ever endured greater hardships and distresses than the people of this country previous to that period.

We behold a feeble band of colonists engaged in the arduous undertaking of a new settlement in the wilds of North America. Their civil liberty being mutilated, and the enjoyment of their religious sentiments denied them in the land that gave them birth, they fled their country, they braved the dangers of the then almost unnavigated ocean, and sought, on the other side of the globe, an asylum from the iron grasp of tyranny and the more intolerable scourge of ecclesiastical persecution.

But gloomy, indeed, was the prospect when arrived on this side the Atlantic.

Scattered in detachments along a coast immensely extensive, at a distance of more than three thousand miles from their friends on the eastern continent, they were exposed to all those evils, and encountered or experienced all those difficulties to which human nature seemed liable. Destitute of convenient habitations, the inclemencies of the seasons harassed them, the midnight beasts of prey prowled terribly around them, and the more portentous yell of savage fury incessantly assailed them. But the same undiminished confidence in Almighty God which prompted the first settlers of this country to forsake the unfriendly climes of Europe, still supported them under all their calamities, and inspired them with fortitude almost divine. Having a glorious issue to their labors now in prospect, they cheerfully endured the rigors of the climate, pursued the savage beast to his remotest

haunt, and stood, undismayed, in the dismal hour of Indian battle.

Scarcely were the infant settlements freed from those dangers which at first environed them, ere the clashing interests of France and Britain involved them anew in war. The Colonists were now destined to combat with well appointed, well disciplined troops from Europe; and the horrors of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife were again renewed. But these frowns of fortune, distressing as they were, had been met without a sigh, and endured without a groan, had not Great Britain presumptuously arrogated to herself the glory of victories achieved by the bravery of American militia. Louisburg must be taken, Canada attacked, and a frontier of more than one thousand miles defended by untutored yeomanry, while the honor of every conquest must be ascribed to an English army.

But while Great Britain was thus tyrannically stripping her Colonies of their well earned laurels, and triumphantly weaving them into the stupendous wreath of her own martial glories, she was unwittingly teaching them to value themselves, and effectually to resist, on a future day, her unjust encroachments.

The pitiful tale of *taxation* now commences,—the unhappy quarrel, which resulted in the dismemberment of the British Empire, has here its origin.

England, now triumphant over the united powers of France and Spain, is determined to reduce to the condition of slaves, her American subjects.

We might now display the Legislatures of the several States, together with the General Congress, peti-

tioning, praying, remonstrating; and, like dutiful subjects, humbly laying their grievances before the throne. On the other hand, we could exhibit a British Parliament, assiduously devising means to subjugate America, disdaining our petitions; trampling on our rights; and menacingly telling us, in language not to be misunderstood, "*Ye shall be Slaves!*" We could mention the haughty, tyrannical, perfidious Gage, at the head of a standing army; we could show our brethren, attacked and slaughtered at Lexington! our property plundered and destroyed at Concord! Recollections can still pain us, with the spiral flames of burning Charlestown, the agonizing groans of aged parents, the shrieks of widows, orphans, and infants!

Indelibly impressed on our memories, still live the dismal scenes of Bunker's awful mount, the grand theatre of New England bravery; where *slaughter* stalked, grimly triumphant; where relentless Britain saw her soldiers, the unhappy instruments of despotism, fallen in heaps, beneath the nervous arm of injured freemen!

There the great Warren fought, and there, alas! he fell! Valuing life only as it enabled him to serve his country, he freely resigned himself, a willing martyr in the cause of Liberty, and now lies encircled in the arms of glory.

> "Peace to the Patriot's shade—let no rude blast
> Disturb the willow that nods o'er his tomb;
> Let orphan tears bedew his sacred urn,
> And fame's loud trump proclaim the hero's name,
> Far as the circuit of the spheres extends."

But, haughty Albion, thy reign shall soon be over.

Thou shalt triumph no longer; thine empire already reels and totters; thy laurels even now begin to wither, and thy frame decay. Thou hast, at length, roused the indignation of an insulted people; thine oppressions they deem no longer tolerable.

The 4th day of July, 1776, has now arrived, and America, manfully springing from the torturing fangs of the British Lion, now rises majestic in the pride of her sovereignty, and bids her Eagle elevate his wings!

The solemn Declaration of Independence is now pronounced, amidst crowds of admiring citizens, by the supreme council of our nation; and received with the unbounded plaudits of a grateful people!

That was the hour when heroism was proved—when the souls of men were tried.

It was then, ye venerable patriots (speaking to the Revolutionary soldiers present), it was then you lifted the indignant arm, and unitedly swore to be free! Despising such toys as subjugated empires, you then knew no middle fortune between liberty and death.

Firmly relying on the protection of Heaven, unwarped in the resolution you had taken, you then, undaunted, met—engaged—defeated the gigantic power of Britain, and rose triumphant over the aggressions of your enemies.

Trenton, Princeton, Bennington, and Saratoga were the successive theatres of your victories, and the utmost bounds of creation are the limits of your fame! The sacred fire of freedom, then enkindled in your breasts, shall be perpetuated through the

long descent of future ages, and burn, with undiminished fervor, in the bosoms of millions yet unborn.

Finally, to close the sanguinary conflict, to grant America the blessings of an honorable peace, and clothe her heroes with laurels, Cornwallis, at whose feet the kings and princes of Asia have since *thrown* their diadems, was compelled to submit to the sword of Washington.

The great drama is now completed: our Independence is now acknowledged; and the hopes of our enemies are blasted for ever; Columbia is now seated in the forum of Nations, and the Empires of the world are amazed at the bright effulgence of her glory.

Thus, friends and citizens, did the kind hand of overruling Providence conduct us, through toils, fatigues and dangers, to Independence and Peace. If piety be the rational exercise of the human soul, if religion be not a chimera, and if the vestiges of heavenly assistance are clearly traced in those events which mark the annals of our Nation, it becomes us, on this day, in consideration of the great things which have been done for us, to render the tribute of unfeigned thanks to that God, who superintends the universe, and holds aloft the scale, that weighs the destinies of Nations.

The conclusion of the Revolutionary War did not accomplish the entire achievements of our countrymen. Their military character was then, indeed, sufficiently established; but the time was coming which should prove their political sagacity—their ability to govern themselves.

No sooner was peace restored with England (the first grand article of which was the acknowledgment of our Independence), than the old system of Confederation, dictated, at first, by necessity, and adopted for the purposes of the moment, was found inadequate to the government of an extensive Empire. Under a full conviction of this, we then saw the people of these States engaged in a transaction which is undoubtedly the greatest approximation towards human perfection the political world ever yet witnessed, and which, perhaps, will for ever stand in the history of mankind without a parallel. A great Republic, composed of different States, whose interest in all respects could not be perfectly compatible, then came deliberately forward, discarded one system of government and adopted another, without the loss of one man's blood.

There is not a single Government now existing in Europe, which is not based in usurpation, and established, if established at all, by the sacrifice of thousands. But, in the adoption of our present system of jurisprudence, we see the powers necessary for Government voluntarily flowing from the people, their only proper origin, and directed to the public good, their only proper object.

With peculiar propriety, we may now felicitate ourselves on that happy form of mixed government under which we live. The advantages resulting to the citizens of the Union are utterly incalculable, and the day when it was received by a majority of the States shall stand on the catalogue of American

anniversaries second to none but the birthday of Independence.

In consequence of the adoption of our present system of Government, and the virtuous manner in which it has been administered by a Washington and an Adams, we are this day in the enjoyment of peace, while war devastates Europe! We can now sit down beneath the shadow of the olive, while her cities blaze, her streams run purple with blood, and her fields glitter with a forest of bayonets! The citizens of America can this day throng the temples of freedom, and renew their oaths of fealty to independence; while Holland, our once sister Republic, is erased from the catalogue of nations; while Venice is destroyed, Italy ravaged, and Switzerland—the once happy, the once united, the once flourishing Switzerland—lies bleeding at every pore!

No ambitious foe dares now invade our country. No standing army now endangers our liberty. Our Commerce, though subject in some degree to the depredations of the belligerent powers, is extended from pole to pole; our Navy, though just emerging from non-existence, shall soon vouch for the safety of our merchantmen, and bear the thunder of freedom around the ball. Fair science, too, holds her gentle empire amongst us, and almost innumerable altars are raised to her divinity, from Brunswick to Florida. Yale, Providence, and Harvard, now grace our land; and Dartmouth, towering majestic above the groves which encircle her, now inscribes her glory on the registers of fame! Oxford and Cambridge, those oriental stars of literature, shall now be outshone by

the bright sun of American science, which displays his broad circumference in unclipsed radiance.

Pleasing, indeed, were it here to dilate on the future grandeur of America; but we forbear, and pause for a moment to drop the tear of affection over the graves of our departed warriors. Their names should be mentioned on every anniversary of Independence, that the youth of each successive generation may learn not to value life, when held in competition with their country's safety.

Wooster, Montgomery, and Mercer, fell bravely in battle, and their ashes are now entombed on the fields that witnessed their valor. Let their exertions in our country's cause be remembered, while liberty has an advocate and gratitude has place in the human heart.

Greene, the immortal hero of the Carolinas, has since gone down to the grave, loaded with honors, and high in the estimation of his countrymen. The courageous Putnam has long slept with his fathers; and Sullivan and Cilley, New Hampshire's veteran sons, are no more remembered with the living.

With hearts penetrated by unutterable grief, we are at length constrained to ask, where is our Washington? where the hero who led us to victory? where the man who gave us freedom? where is he, who headed our feeble army, when destruction threatened us, who came upon our enemies like the storms of winter, and scattered them like leaves before the Borean blast? Where, O! my country! is thy political saviour? Where, O! humanity! thy favorite son?

The solemnity of this assembly, the lamentations of the American people will answer, "Alas! he is now no more—the mighty is fallen!"

Yes, Americans, Washington is gone! he is now consigned to dust and sleeps in "dull, cold marble!"

The man who never felt a wound but when it pierced his country—who never groaned but when fair freedom bled—is now for ever silent!

Wrapped in the shroud of death, the dark dominions of the grave long since received him, and he rests in undisturbed repose! Vain were the attempt to express our loss—vain the attempt to describe the feelings of our souls! Though months have rolled away since his spirit left this terrestrial orb, and sought the shining worlds on high, yet the sad event is still remembered with increased sorrow. The hoary-headed patriot of '76 still tells the mournful story to the listening infant, till the loss of his country touches his heart, and patriotism fires his breast. The aged matron still laments the loss of the man, beneath whose banners her husband has fought, or her son has fallen. At the name of Washington, the sympathetic tear still glistens in the eye of every youthful hero. Nor does the tender sigh yet cease to heave in the fair bosom of Columbia's daughters.

> Farewell, O Washington, a long farewell!
> Thy Country's tears embalm thy memory;
> Thy virtues challenge immortality;
> Impressed on grateful hearts, thy name shall live,
> Till dissolution's deluge drown the world.

Although we must feel the keenest sorrow at the

demise of our Washington, yet we console ourselves with the reflection that his virtuous compatriot, his worthy successor, the firm, the wise, the inflexible Adams, still survives. Elevated by the voice of his country, to the supreme executive magistracy, he constantly adheres to her essential interests, and with steady hand draws the disguising veil from the intrigues of foreign enemies and the plots of domestic foes.

Having the honor of America always in view, never fearing, when wisdom dictates, to stem the impetuous torrent of popular resentment, he stands amid the fluctuations of party and the explosions of faction, unmoved as Atlas,

> "While storms and tempest thunder on its brow,
> And oceans break their billows at its feet."

Yet all the vigilance of our Executive, and all the wisdom of our Congress, have not been sufficient to prevent the country from being in some degree agitated by the convulsions of Europe. But why shall every quarrel on the other side of the Atlantic interest us in its issue? Why shall the rise or depression of every party there, produce here a corresponding vibration? Was this continent designed as a mere satellite to the other? Has not nature here wrought all operations on her broadest scale? Where are the Mississippis and the Amazons, the Alleghanies and the Andes of Europe, Asia and Africa? The natural superiority of America clearly indicates that it was designed to be inhabited by a nobler race of men, possessing a superior form of Government,

superior patriotism, superior talents, and superior virtues.

Let then the nations of the East vainly waste their strength in destroying each other.

Let them aspire at conquest, and contend for dominion, till their continent is deluged in blood. But let none, however elated by victory, however proud of triumph, ever presume to intrude on the neutral position assumed by our country.

Britain, twice humbled for her aggressions, has at length been taught to respect us. But France, once our ally, has dared to insult us! She has violated her treaty obligations—she has depredated our commerce—she has abused our Government, and riveted the chains of bondage on our unhappy fellow-citizens! Not content with ravaging and depopulating the fairest countries of Europe; not yet satiated with the contortions of expiring republics, the convulsive agonies of subjugated nations, and the groans of her own slaughtered citizens—she has spouted her fury across the Atlantic; and the stars and stripes of the United States have almost been attacked in our harbors! When we have demanded reparation, she has told us, "Give us your money and we will give you peace." Mighty nation! Magnanimous Republic! Let her fill her coffers from those towns and cities which she has plundered, and grant peace, if she can, to the shades of those millions whose death she has caused.

But Columbia stoops not to tyrants; her spirit will never cringe to France; neither a supercilious, five-headed Directory, nor the gasconading pilgrim

of Egypt, will ever dictate terms to sovereign America. The thunder of our cannon shall insure the performance of our treaties, and fulminate destruction on Frenchmen, till the ocean is crimsoned with blood, and gorged with pirates!

It becomes us, on whom the defence of our country will ere long devolve, this day most seriously to reflect on the duties incumbent upon us.

Our ancestors bravely snatched expiring liberty from the grasp of Britain, whose touch is poison; shall we now consign it to France, whose embrace is death? We have seen our fathers, in the days of our country's trouble, assume the rough habiliments of war, and seek the hostile field. Too full of sorrow to speak, we have seen them wave a last farewell to a disconsolate, a woe-stung family. We have seen them return, worn down with fatigue, and scarred with wounds; or we have seen them, perhaps, no more. For us they fought—for us they bled—for us they conquered. Shall we, their descendants, now basely disgrace our lineage and pusillanimously disclaim the legacy bequeathed to us? Shall we pronounce the sad valediction to freedom and immortal liberty on the altars our fathers have raised to her? No! The response of the nation is, "No!" Let it be registered in the archives of Heaven. Ere the religion we profess, and the privileges we enjoy are sacrificed at the shrine of despots and damagogues—let the sons of Europe be vassals; let her hosts of nations be a vast congregation of slaves; but let us, who are this day free, whose hearts are yet unappalled, and whose right arms are yet nerved for war, assem-

ble before the hallowed temple of American freedom, and swear, to the God of our fathers, to preserve it secure, or die at its portals.

I think you will agree with me in saying that the boy who delivered that Oration was, to say the least, a clever boy. My informant says his friends were so much pleased with it, that they obtained a copy for publication. By this time, you may say, it is pretty "much out of print," but worthy of being reprinted. I dare say, Mr. Webster himself has entirely forgotten it. It shows his bosom was full of patriotism, and that in his youth the seeds of the noblest sentiments had taken deep root.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER STILL AT COLLEGE—HIS STUDIES THE FOURTH YEAR—PERSONAL APPEARANCE—HIS EULOGY ON THE DEATH OF A CLASSMATE—COMMENCEMENT—HIS CLASSMATES—PERFORMANCE—HIS ORATION—HE IS MADE A BACHELOR OF ARTS—TAKES LEAVE.

Elms Farm, N. H., Sept. — 1349.

In the fourth and last year of Mr. Webster's college life his studies were Metaphysics and Natural and Political Law; his exercises were Compositions in English and Latin. These were according to the regulations established as the routine for the students.

In all the branches of education taught at Dartmouth during his sojourn there, unprepared as he was at the outset, Mr. Webster made himself a respect-

able student; in point of fact, in all those that bore directly on the profession he had resolved to pursue, he made himself eminent.

That rare faculty which Mr. Webster possesses of putting the knowledge of other men into his own crucible, and thence obtaining the pure metal, was largely developed and cultivated while at college.

What his Professors knew he knew. The seed which fell from their ripe knowledge and experience, dropped upon a rich soil, when he was a listener, and it lost nothing of its virtue in the process of reproduction.

* * * Yesterday, I had a pleasant interview with a lady, who was, as she says, "just entering her teens," and residing in Hanover when Mr. Webster was at Dartmouth. She remembers him well, although many years have passed. She "can tell exactly how he looked." She informs me that Mr. Webster was slender, and evidently had a feeble constitution. That he was a brunette in complexion; that his hair was as black as jet, and when turned back, there was displayed a forehead, the sight of which always excited great admiration. His dark eyes shone with extraordinary brilliancy, and when engaged in agreeable or amusing conversation, he wore a smile that was bewitching, and showed teeth as white as pearls. He was a great favorite in the society at Hanover, which, though not gay, was refined and distinguished for its hospitality. She said that no young man in College was more highly esteemed by all classes, old and young, than Daniel Webster. She often heard him speak on public occasions; and remembers his

"Fourth of July Oration," before the people of Hanover, and that it made a great sensation.

While Mr. Webster was there, one of the students, who was also a great favorite, died. Mr. Webster was chosen by his classmates to pronounce a eulogy on the occasion. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity, and she says: "The scene was solemn and quite affecting, for there was not a dry eye present."

His name was Ephraim Simonds, a member of the Senior Class of Dartmouth College, who died at Hanover, April 17, 1801.

I have not a copy of the whole funeral oration he delivered, but I will quote a passage from the exordium: "All of him that was mortal now lies in the charnels of yonder cemetery. By the grass that nods over the mounds of Sumner, Merrill and Cook, now rests a fourth son of Dartmouth, constituting another monument of man's mortality. The sun, as it sinks to the ocean, plays its departing beams on his tomb, but they reanimate him not. The cold sod presses on his bosom; his hands hang down in weakness. The bird of the evening shouts a melancholy air on the poplar, but her voice is stillness to his ears. While his pencil was drawing scenes of future felicity,—while his soul fluttered on the gay breezes of hope,—an unseen hand drew the curtain, and shut him from our view." Mr. Webster, at this time, had been so inspired with the brilliant and fervent style of President Wheelock, that he gave stronger indications of rising to eminence in poetry than in law or politics.

The lady with whom I conversed says that long

after Mr. Webster left college, other students, for their occasional declamations, spoke parts of that eulogy, and even then the hearers were often affected to tears. A schoolmate of Mr. Webster confirmed all this. I have heard the eulogy much praised. Its composition proved that Mr. Webster had an imagination and strength of fancy of the highest order. It was full of pathos; and was considered by the students, and the faculty too, as an extraordinary production,—indeed, the most splendid that ever was heard within the college walls. Those who have read his Eulogy on the death of the ex-Presidents Adams and Jefferson, will not be surprised to learn that he early manifested his wonderful capacity in this respect.

He was never wanting in originality. His imagination was of a high order. I have seen it stated that he wrote poetry, vigorous, manly poetry, whenever he chose. In his early productions there was a gorgeousness of youthful fancy, and oftentimes they were full of pathos. But the discipline to which he subjected his mind, incorporated the fire of the muse with the masses of law and politics he was forging for public use, so that on his first appearance after leaving college, all were astonished at his close, vigorous and mature style. While in college, there was published a paper, edited by the faculty and students, and no pen was more diligent or potent than that of Mr. Webster.

This excellent lady, to whom I am much indebted, was kind enough to grant me the perusal of several old papers and memorandums touching Dartmouth

College, which were preserved by her departed brother, a classmate, and from which I learn that Mr. Webster graduated during the last week in August, 1801. This was an important event in his career; and the incidents of that period interested me much, and I dare say they will you. Hanover, on this occasion, was full of people; the friends of the students in college, some from a great distance, and the lovers of learning from the neighboring counties were there, to derive pleasure from the public exercises and social festivities which the Annual Commencement of Dartmouth College always called forth.

The venerable and highly distinguished Professor Alexander, of Princeton, formerly of Virginia, in some notes he made of a journey through New England, where he passed the summer of 1801, says: "In passing from Massachusetts over the mountains of New Hampshire, I lodged within a few rods of the house of a farmer, the father of Hon. Daniel Webster. The old gentleman came over to the tavern in the morning, and chatted for half an hour. Among other things, he said that he had a son at Dartmouth, who was about to take his bachelor's degree. The father was large in frame, high-breasted and broad-shouldered, and, like his son, had heavy eyebrows. He was an affable man, of sound sense and considerable information, and expressed a wish that I might be acquainted with his son, of whom, it was easy to see that he was proud."

Dr. Alexander tells the following anecdote of Mr. Wheelock, the president, of whom I have before spoken:

"Arriving at Hanover, the seat of the college, a day or two before the commencement, I put up my horse, and secured a room at one of the two public houses. On the morning of the commencement I presented my letters to President Wheelock, and was received with a profusion of ceremonious inclinations; for it was pleasantly said that the president suffered no man to have the last bow. This, it was reported, was put to the test by a person of some assurance, who undertook to compete with him in the contest of politeness. He accordingly took his leave, bowed himself out of the mansion, and continued to bow as long as he was on the premises; but the president followed him to the gate, and remained in possession of the field. Dr. Wheelock was a man of learning, especially in the department of history. Such were the manners of the men at the head of the institution where Mr. Webster was educated.

The young gentlemen who graduated with Mr. Webster, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, were the following. I have often heard persons say they should like to know who his classmates were. I give their names:

Alpheus Baker,
James Henry Bingham,
Lemuel Bliss,
Daniel Campbell,
John Dutton,
William Farrar,
Habyah Weld Fuller,
Charles Gilbert,
Elisha Hotchkiss,
Abner Howe,
Ebenezer Jones,
David Jewett,
Joseph Kimball,
Sanford Kingsbury,
Aaron Loveland,
Simeon Lyman,
Thomas Abbott Merril,
Josiah Noyes,
John Nye,
Daniel Parker,
Nathaniel Shattuck,
Elisha Smith,

William Coit Smith,
Asahel Stone,
Matthew Taylor,
Caleb Jewett Tenney,
Samuel Upham,
Jabez B. Whitaker.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred at the same time on a young clergyman by the name of Rev. Thomas Worcester.

The degree of Bachelor of Medicine was conferred at the same time on Sylvester Day, John March and Augustus Correy.

The degree of Master of Arts was then conferred on Messrs.

Ezekiel L. Bascom,
Stephen Bemis,
James Davis,
Phiny Dickinson,
Abel Farley,
Ebenezer Flint,
Alvan Foot,
Horace Hall,
William Lambert,
David Long,
Levi Pilsbery,
David Starrett,
Solon Stevens,
Jeremiah Stinson,
Josiah Webster,
James W. Woodward,
Phinehas Howe.

The following gentlemen, on the same occasion, received the degree of Master of Arts, out of the regular course, viz.: Messrs.

Kiah Bayley,
Silas Dinsmore,
Samuel Alden,
Jabez Munsill,
Joseph Powel,
Theophilus Packard,
Hiram Storrs,
Daniel Gilbert.

The same degree was conferred on Rev. Sylvester Dana and Jonathan Belden, from Yale College; Ignatius Thompson, from Rhode Island College; also, on Rev. Daniel Barber and William Morrison. The

degree of Doctor of Medicine was then conferred on Nathan Smith.

Speaking of the Commencement and of the exercises at the church on that day, Dr. Alexander says: "At the Dartmouth Commencement, Gen. Eaton, of eccentric memory, was marshal of the day, and was unceasing in busying himself about the order of the procession to the church; giving to each graduate, of every college, the place due to his seniority. Among the speakers was young Daniel Webster. Little dreaming of his future career in law, eloquence, and statesmanship, he pronounced a discourse on the recent discoveries in Chemistry, especially those of Lavoisier, then newly made public."

Among the number of young gentlemen above named, are several eminent men. Since that day they have made their mark on the time, many have departed, but some are living in the full enjoyment of their accumulating honors.

There were at that time, as there are now, several societies composed of the students, and other members of the College. The anniversaries of those societies, were held on the occasion of the commencement; and before each society, some member was chosen to make an address, preach a sermon, or deliver an oration. My informant tells me that to be selected for either of these duties was a mark of distinction higher and more appreciated than any other. None but those of acknowledged abilities and great attainments were even thought of, as candidates for such honors. The Faculty of the College awarded honors according to certain rules, which they had pre-

viously prescribed, and which were according to the usage of other Institutions; having regard to punctuality at prayers, and at recitations, and regarding the manner in which the student had observed all the little orders and regulations made for the government of the College, as well as to the improvement each one had made in all the studies pursued from the beginning to the end of the course. The exercises of the students began on Monday and ended on Wednesday. Monday and Tuesday were devoted to the proceedings of the societies. Mr. Bingham was chosen to speak before the "Musical Society," and his oration was on the "Harmony of Sounds."

Mr. Merril was selected by the society of "Social Friends," and his oration was on the subject of "Fire."

A young clergyman, by the name of Rev. Elijah Parish, was chosen to preach a discourse before the "Literary Adelphi," and his text was, "He shall be called Wonderful."

The Rev. Eliphalet Gillet, preached a discourse before the "*Phi Beta Kappa*," from these words, "Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go; keep her, for she is thy life."

A Latin oration on "The Prosperity of America," with the salutatory addresses, were delivered by Mr. Thomas A. Merril.

There was a forensic dispute on this subject: "Is the earth an oblate spheroid?" by Mr. Abner Howe and Mr. Daniel Parker.

A philosophical oration on the "Intellectual System," was delivered by Mr. Simeon Lyman.

A dialogue on "Algerine Piracy," by Mr. David

Jewett and Mr. Asahel Stone, was among the exercises.

A Hebrew oration, or an address on the "Fear of the Lord," was delivered by Mr. Nathaniel Shattuck. And there was an English oration on "Education," with the valedictory addresses, by Mr. Caleb J. Tenney, a young gentleman of fine talents, and the most punctual and ardent student in College.

But the most numerous, and, at that time, the most important society, was the one known as "The United Fraternity." This society unanimously designated Mr. Webster to deliver an oration before its members, and all classes were, of course, invited. The audience was large. The few occasions on which he had appeared before the public had already made him famous. His oration was on "The Influence of Opinion." I need not add that he acquitted himself well, for I have already told you enough to enable you to anticipate that fact. The fame of that oration was widely spread, and is not forgotten to this day by his schoolmates, with whom I have had the pleasure of conversing. One of the old papers I have read, modestly says:—"A numerous audience manifested a high degree of satisfaction at the genius displayed," and that "elegance of composition and propriety of delivery distinguished the performance."

On the 26th day of August, 1801, at 11½ o'clock, A. M., the Board of Trustees and Executive Authority, gentlemen of literary character, candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and members of the Institution, walked in procession from the President's to the Meeting House. There the honors were con-

ferred, and Mr. Webster and his classmates took leave of each other and of the President, the professors and tutors of the College then separated, each one to pursue his own path for "weal or wo." No student ever left College with more blessings on his head. His future eminence was distinctly foretold by all the careful observers of men; and the result has excelled the most sanguine of his most partial friends.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER IS THE PRINCIPAL OF THE FRYEBURG ACADEMY—HE STUDIES LAW WITH THOMAS W. THOMPSON.

ELMS FARM, N. H., Sept. —, 1849.

In January, after Mr. Webster left college, he went to Fryeburg, in the State of Maine, to take charge of an academy, for which he was proposed or recommended by Rev. Dr. John Smith, Professor of Greek, Hebrew, and the Oriental languages. Whatever he said was high authority. This Dr. Smith (who was Mr. Webster's ardent friend,) published the New Hampshire Latin Grammar, "an edition of Cicero's Orations in Latin, with Notes," and a "Hebrew Grammar, designed to facilitate the study of the Scriptures." He was an eminent scholar. He, too, was one of those "*who taught that boy.*" As all feel an interest in knowing something about those who participated in shaping the mind of Mr. Webster, I say something of each of them as I proceed. His taking charge of this Academy was an important step

in climbing the hill of Fame. At Dartmouth College, it was a principle instilled into the mind of every student—and the same idea existed throughout the State—that there was no occupation, no profession, more honorable than that of instructing the youth of the country. All classes combined to weave chaplets for, and to award due honors to, the meritorious teacher of an academy or a school. None were permitted to attempt that business unless men of learning; so that under such circumstances, it was a high calling. The graduates at Dartmouth were early distinguished in this respect for the good they did, not only to the rising generation, but to themselves. I have just read a discourse on this subject, delivered by Nathaniel Bouton in 1833. Among other things he says:

"On the triple foundation of the learned languages, mathematics, and moral and intellectual philosophy, the sons of Dartmouth build high and enduring superstructions of personal fame and public usefulness. As citizens of New Hampshire, we owe much to the influence of this College, in elevating the character of our primary schools and academies, and in promoting education through our country. From its first establishment, about three-fourths of all the students have taught schools during some portion of each year. For five years past the average number of students has been one hundred and fifty-five, of whom one hundred and five have been teachers, ordinarily for a term of three months. Within the last two years the number of students has been one hundred and seventy; of whom *three-fourths* have

been teachers. More graduates from this College are now teaching," said he, "in New England, in the Southern States, and particularly in the valley of the Mississippi, than from any other College that is known."

An idea prevailed, that teaching was most salutary in its influence on the mind of the teacher. It aroused the recollections, and fixed on the memory more firmly, what the teacher had striven to learn. It enabled the graduate to see, by a little practice, where the web of his learning was most weak; and in the outset to remedy the defect. The most eminent men in New England, forty years ago, acted on this idea; and the result is, that this section of the United States is in advance of all others in solid education. New Hampshire is excelled only by Massachusetts and Connecticut; and those States are perhaps in advance of the rest of the world; that is, there are more educated men in proportion to the whole number of the people. Hearing of young Mr. Webster at Dartmouth, through Mr. Smith and others, the Trustees of the Fryeburg Academy, then recently founded, appointed him the principal of their Seminary, and he accepted the place. He never had occasion to regret it.

Fryeburg is a beautiful town in Oxford County, in the State of Maine. It consists of barren hills and fertile valleys. The intervening lands are of the richest kind. The hills are lofty and romantic. The principal village is situated on a plain, surrounded by those hills; and is watered by the river Saco. Although the township is but six miles square, yet,

that beautiful river in its fantastic meanderings, runs a distance of more than thirty miles, in passing from one boundary to the other. More bewitching scenery is seldom found in this land of beautiful scenes. For ages past, that town, the olden name of which was *Pequawket*, had been occupied by the Indians, and improved by their successors; the earliest inhabitants of New England. At a short distance from the village, is "Lovewell's Pond," a beautiful sheet of water, to which Mr. Webster often resorted with his fishing tackle for amusement and healthful recreation. He was then nineteen years old. On the afternoons of Wednesdays and Saturdays, he was often seen alone in his boat, floating on the surface of that water, which was so transparent, that he *appeared* to be suspended between earth and sky—angling among the smaller finny tribe, as the sage of Marshfield is now often seen in his yacht on the more turbulent waters of the ocean, angling for codfish and halibut. This amusement was then, as it now is,—his repose from study and deep thought.

"Lovewell's Pond" was made famous by "Lovewell's fight." Capt. John Lovewell, as long ago as 1725, with thirty-four men, fought a famous Indian named Paugus, at the head of eighty savages, on the shores of this beautiful pond. Both parties entered the combat determined to conquer or die. They fought till both Lovewell and Paugus were slain. Sixty of the Indians, and all but nine of the whites, "bit the dust." Finally, the remaining twenty savages fled, leaving nine of Lovewell's men victors of the field. This scene is visited with interest by all,

whether travellers or sojourners, who have ever heard the story. It is, indeed, an interesting spot. Mr. Webster occupied his place at that academy until the following September, nine months. During this period, in the faithful discharge of his duties, he passed in review his studies at College, clinched every nail, and supplied every defect. While there, he also enjoyed the pleasures of an agreeable and intelligent society. Among his associates, he included several well-bred ladies and gentlemen. There was one, Rev. Wm. Fessenden, a man of great learning and distinguished piety, for whom Mr. Webster had a particular regard. His house was open to him at all times. He had a fine library, to the use of which the youthful philosopher was invited; and that great and good man was never so happy as when he had Mr. Webster with him. He took infinite pleasure in conversing with a youthful and vigorous mind, fresh from College, and he imparted to him all that could be given from his best experience, and the fruit of his observations during scores of years. The great truths of philosophy and religion were themes on which they dwelt with mutual satisfaction. When we remember the strong adherence of Mr. Webster's father to religious principles and practices, the influence of Rev. Mr. Wood, and Rev. Dr. Smith, of Dartmouth College, his early and devoted friends, and afterwards the friendship of Mr. Fessenden, we can readily account for the confident opinions which are entertained by Mr. Webster on religious subjects, and which have always been visible in every thing he has said and done.

While Mr. Webster resided at Fryeburg he found he could do more than was set down for him to do as the Principal of the Academy. The office of Assistant Register in that place being vacant he was chosen to discharge the duties. He occupied several hours of each twenty-four in recording deeds, for which he received considerable money, and all of which he appropriated to the defraying of the expenses of his brother Ezekiel at College. At the close of the duties which devolved upon him, and which he had so well performed, the appointing power felt called on to pass resolutions and give him some testimonial as to the manner in which he had done what he had undertaken.

The time had now come when Mr. Webster was to prepare himself more thoroughly and particularly (though he little thought then of the extent) to be the teacher of nations. His plans for self-improvement would not permit him to spend any more time in teaching others the simple rudiments of learning. He therefore resigned his place at Fryeburg, grateful for the benefits it had conferred on him personally, and returned to Elms Farm. He entered the office of his friend and neighbor, Thomas W. Thompson, as a student at law, in which office he had formerly sat a little barefooted boy, to tell the clients who called, where Mr. Thompson had gone, and when he would return.

At this time, there were only eighty lawyers practising at the Superior and Inferior Courts, in the whole State. Mr. Thompson was one in good standing among them. I will here speak briefly of him.

He was born in Boston, and was the son of Deacon Thompson, an Englishman. His mother was a Scotchwoman. While he was young, his father removed (taking his son with him) to Newburyport. He was fitted for College by Samuel Moody, and graduated at Cambridge in 1786. At the time of the "Shay's Rebellion," he entered the army as an aid to General Lincoln, and served throughout the campaign during a severe winter, and until the insurrection was quelled. He first studied Theology to qualify himself for the pulpit. He was, however, appointed a Tutor in College, at Cambridge, and was a favorite among the students, owing to the suavity of his manners, and his natural, easy, and unaffected politeness. After this he studied law at Newburyport with Theophilus Parsons, named "the Giant of the Law." He was admitted to the Bar, and opened an office near the South Meeting House, in Salisbury; and in about a year afterwards, he removed to this place, and boarded with Mr. Webster's father. In due time, he bought a house for himself. He had an extensive and lucrative practice. He made himself rich by his profession. He was one of the Trustees of Dartmouth College at the time Mr. Webster graduated, and continued to be an active and efficient member of the Board till his death. From 1805 to 1807, he was a Representative in Congress. He was several times a member of the Legislature of his State, and was Speaker of the House of Representatives when the excitement of party politics was high; but his opponents and every member willingly bore testimony to his candor, his ability and impartiality in the dis-

charge of his duties. He was also a Senator in Congress from this State, and acquitted himself with honor. In 1809 he removed from this place to Concord, the seat of Government.

In August, 1819, he set out for Quebec, and was on board the steamboat *Phœnix*, from Burlington on the route to Canada, when, at midnight it took fire. The vessel was all in flames, the passengers were all escaping in small boats, and he was still asleep,—waking, he saw his situation, jumped into the last boat, already filled to sinking, and was the last person who escaped. The terrors and fatigues of that dreadful night made him sick, and, finally, put an end to his life. He was a fine scholar and accomplished gentleman, and highly respected in this State. Such is the man with whom Mr. Webster commenced the study of the law.

Yours truly.

END OF VOL. I.

LIFE AND MEMORIALS

OF

DANIEL WEBSTER.

FROM THE NEW-YORK DAILY TIMES.

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MEMORIALS OF MR. WEBSTER,

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM ELMS FARM AND MARSHFIELD.

OFFICE IN WHICH MR. WEBSTER STUDIED LAW—WHAT BOOKS HE READ—ACQUIRES A KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRACTICE—ANECDOTE OF HIS FIRMNESS AND TACT.

ELMS FARM, N. H., Sept. —, 1849.

* * * THE office in which Mr. Webster studied law, is still standing on the easterly side of the old turnpike road through this valley, about thirty rods from his old homestead. It was built by Mr. Thompson, considerably more than a half century ago. It is a small wood building, one story high, having a very ancient appearance. It is divided into two rooms, and a narrow hall; the chimney in the centre of the building, with a wide, old-fashioned fireplace in the front room: the front door or main entrance in the centre of the front side, and a window on each side of the front door, two windows on each side of the office, affording a good light to each of the rooms, with one in the hall. The front room was the place for the general business of the office; the back room for study and consultations with cli-

ents. On the right-hand side of the front entrance, Mr. Thompson made a sort of fence, or small balustrade; inclosing a space about seven by nine feet, resembling the inclosures in many of the counting-rooms in your city. In that, he sat by an old table, and book-case, in an old arm-chair, and sometimes stood at a desk, inclosed within the railing. On the left-hand side stood a large book-case, containing the law library. The council-room was furnished with a plain table, covered with green cloth, standing under the window, with several substantial chairs. This room was warmed in winter by an old-fashioned box stove. There is a side door opening into the pathway, leading to the house near by, in which Mr. Thompson dwelt. The office is shaded by two magnificent elms, standing in front, and extending their long branches over it. Those trees were planted many years before the period of which I am speaking. The premises are now owned and occupied by Parker Noyes, Esq., a venerable counsellor-at-law, who was a student in the office of Mr. Thompson, and had been two years before Mr. Webster began to study. Mr. Noyes, in due time being admitted to practice at the bar, and becoming an eminent man in his profession, took the business of Mr. Thompson; and, some time about the year 1809, became the proprietor of the office, house and the lands, together with a portion of his law library. I have had several conversations with this distinguished old gentleman during my sojourn here; and I am indebted to him for many of these reminiscences. I called on his excellent and polite lady to-day, who, with a rusty and

ancient-looking key, kindly unlocked the door and admitted me to view the office. There stand the identical tables, book-cases, desks and chairs, which stood there in Mr. Webster's time. It is still a law-office; but years and years have gone by since the venerable proprietor (who is rich enough to forego the practice of the law) gave audience to his clients in those rooms. There are the old registers of law-suits, with entries made in the handwriting of Mr. Webster; and there are the old books, on whose pages his mind dwelt so intently, and from which he drew some of the knowledge to which the most eminent judges have so often listened, to be instructed and convinced. I have seldom visited a place fraught with more interest to me than the interior of that old law-office. I looked upon it as a valuable memento of the days of his youth. If I owned it, I would have it inclosed in a larger building, which would preserve it for future generations to look at.

The first book that Mr. Thompson put into Mr. Webster's hands was Coke upon Littleton. This he read regularly six hours in the morning, while in the afternoon he read Hume's History of England, and Shakspeare's Plays. Day after day, he sat in the back room of that little office, and pored over the productions of those master minds. He made himself familiar with those books, but, so far as *Coke* upon *Littleton* was concerned, Mr. Thompson made a sad mistake. It was not the law book on which he should have made a beginning. I remember that I heard Mr. Webster comment on this mistake. He said he was a long time groping about in the dark,

believing, of course, that he should come to light, but he could not foresee when or whereabouts. It was not until he took up *Espinasse Nisi Prius* and Blackstone's Commentaries that he discovered the mistake; and he thenceforth insisted that he lost much time in unravelling black-letter webs and deducing premises, which he found had been clearly unravelled and deduced by others.

There were then no books of practice and forms in the office, like Tidd's, and Graham's, and a host of others, written since then. This was long before Kent had written his Commentaries. There was nothing visible to him. He has told me if Mr. Thompson had shown him at the outset, or had placed in his hands one of each kind of the writs issued in a suit, together with one of each kind of the papers, from the beginning to the end—for instance, a Declaration, a Demurrer, a Plea, a Record, and a Judgment Roll—so that he could have had ocular demonstration of what each contained, and could have read it, and turned it over, and looked at it inside and out, he would have saved himself much labor, and his path would have been illuminated beyond what many persons would, perhaps, readily admit. He said he would earnestly recommend that every teacher of law students should do what Mr. Thompson omitted to do, when he began to study law; that is, first to show them the documents about which they are to read.

The second book Mr. Thompson gave him was "Espinasse Nisi Prius." This, too, he continued to read for six hours in the morning, while he con-

tinued to read Hume and Shakspeare in the afternoon. Reading Espinasse, he saw the framework of the law, and how extensive was the science he had undertaken to master. He no longer pursued his way in the dark; every new book he encountered was a feast of reason, for which he was prepared. To-day, I saw the two musty volumes of Espinasse which he read. They are of an old English edition, and, at a little distance, look like a couple of Psalm books. Mr. Noyes has intimated that he will let me have them. I will preserve them carefully if he will.

In the course of a year from the time he entered the office, he acquired,—says Mr. Noyes,—considerable knowledge of business, and gave great satisfaction and assistance to Mr. Thompson. During the second year, he showed himself a sound lawyer. When clients came for advice, he heard with Mr. Thompson a full statement of the facts, and thereupon he, again and again, wrote out opinions, which Mr. Thompson, on perusal, adopted, signed, and delivered as his own. He also displayed great tact in conducting the lawsuits pending, in marshaling the testimony, and in eliciting from witnesses the facts to be proved on the trials. Many men, not profound lawyers, have become eminent in their profession, and have paved their way to wealth, by their skill in conducting a cause before it was brought to the bar for trial. I will relate an anecdote, told to me today, by the son of one of the parties, as a sample of the tact of Mr. Webster, at that early day, in bringing delinquents to the mark.

A turnpike was being built by Captain Kimball,

an energetic man, whose contract was founded on subscriptions for the money, by men of property along the line; and especially at Portsmouth. In the midst of his work, many of the subscribers, for some peculiar reason, refused to pay the amount they had subscribed.

Captain Kimball applied to Mr. Thompson for advice, and legal aid to obtain the money. The contractor could not very well wait on the law's delay. Mr. Thompson wrote to the subscribers urgent letters. This did not obtain the money. Becoming more earnest, he sent Mr. Noyes, his eldest student, to them personally, but Mr. Noyes returned without the required funds. Mr. Webster, on hearing the ill success with which the parties had met, said, "Let me go to Portsmouth, I will bring you the money." A horse was speedily brought to the door, and as speedily he set out on his expedition. With his horse foaming he entered the town, saw some of the subscribers, and sent word to others, informing them that the object of his visit was *to get the money!* At the same time he sent a messenger to request the presence of the sheriff of the county. He next went to the office of Mr. Jeremiah Mason, and asked the privilege of writing awhile at his table. There was something in the manner of this young stranger among them, that arrested their attention. They watched every step he took, every movement he made. Sitting down at the table, Mr. Webster made out a writ for every subscriber, as he was authorized to do for Mr. Thompson. Seeing these formidable weapons they proposed a *parley*. He met

them, not to hear *them*, but that they could hear *him*. He stated the object of his mission, and the grounds on which he stood so imposingly, and fixed so peremptorily the hour which the money must be paid; he spoke so courteously, and yet so sternly, as to fill them with alarm. Writs, arrests, and bail bonds, were all unpleasant objects. That was before imprisonment for debt was abolished. The parley ended, he ordered his horse to be at the door at the time named, and directed the sheriff to be ready to receive the writs for arresting the parties, if the money was not forthcoming. At the hour appointed, his horse was brought to the door for his return home; but by this time they saw that he was not a young gentleman to be put off or trifled with, and they hastened to pay over the cash as fast as he could receive it. He then hurried back to the office with the money, much to the amazement of Mr. Thompson, and satisfaction of Capt. Kimball.

This anecdote shows, that in his boyhood, his purposes were not easily shaken, and that he had the capacity to satisfy others; he was not to be resisted whenever he was right.

Mr. Webster was in the office of Mr. Thompson, with Mr. Noyes, two years. Within that time he acquired what knowledge he could acquire from his instructor, or from participating in his practice. He desired to be in a larger field; he wished to be a lawyer on a broader scale.

Yours, truly.

MR. WEBSTER STUDIES LAW IN BOSTON—CHRISTOPHER GORE—HE IS ADMITTED TO PRACTICE—HIS FIRST CAUSE.

Elms Farm, N. H., Sept. — 1852.

* * * After Mr. Webster had pursued his studies two years with Mr. Thompson, and had acquired some knowledge of the law, as related in my last letter, he went to Boston to finish his legal education.

That city was then, as it is now, denominated the "Athens of America." It embraced many eminent members of the bar, some of whom were also distinguished for their general learning. Many of them had travelled in foreign countries. He could not have directed his steps to any place where the object he had in view could have been more certainly accomplished.

His father and mother had now beheld the rising fame of their son. That just pride, which fires the bosom of parents who see chaplets weaving for their children, animated the heart of his father, who was then a judge on the bench; he took counsel from his friends, able to advise, what was best to be done, and determined to do his utmost to give him all the opportunities he required.

In looking over the list of the eminent lawyers, and on making himself acquainted with the relative standing, and the qualifications of each, Mr. Webster selected Mr. Christopher Gore, and made a successful application to him, for a seat in his office. At that time Mr. Gore was not at all engaged in the common business of his profession; he did not,

in fact, pretend to do anything as an attorney or solicitor, but being distinguished as a counsellor, he was much consulted in matters of great doubt and difficulty, and often appeared at the bar to argue those cases which required great legal learning, and were of great moment to the State or individuals. Judges listened to him with respect, and his talents and influence commanded large fees.

I had often heard the name of Christopher Gore mentioned with respect, but I knew nothing of him besides his name. Finding that he, too, had something to do with *the teaching of that boy*, and that he gave him the finishing touch, I have taken pains to learn more of him. But in speaking of his biography I will be brief. Mr. Gore was a native of Boston; the son of a respectable mechanic, and was educated at Harvard College. He was a classmate of Rufus King, of New-York, and Oliver Peabody, of Exeter, and I think of Joseph Hall, of Boston. He studied law, I am told, with Mr. Tudor, but of this there is some doubt, and he went into practice soon after the opening of the Courts, on the peace of 1783. He soon became distinguished, and success crowned his efforts. He was much, indeed for a long time, almost constantly employed in the collection of British debts.

He was an ardent friend of the project for a new and National Government, and is understood to have drawn the resolutions adopted by the mechanics of Boston at the Green Dragon in 1788, and which were presented by Paul Revere, to the Boston Delegates in the Convention. Mr. Gore was himself one of that delega-

tion, and stood by—a fine-looking, spirited young man,—when Colonel Revere presented the paper to Samuel Adams, and heard the dialogue which ensued. These proceedings produced a great sensation at the time, as a reference to the history of that Convention will show you.

Mr. Gore was appointed by President Washington, the first District Attorney of the United States for the District of Massachusetts. He discharged the duties of the office with great credit to himself, and benefit to the country. After the ratification of Mr. Jay's treaty, he was appointed a commissioner under its 7th article, with William Pinkney, and passed five or six years, perhaps seven, in London, engaged in the duties of that appointment. On his return, he resumed the practice of his profession in Boston, where Mr. Webster found him in 1804.

In 1809 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and in 1813 he was chosen a Senator of the Congress of the United States. Infirm health rendered the latter part of his life in a great measure inactive. At his death he left his very valuable library to Harvard College.

Mr. Gore was thoroughly educated, had a classical taste, and made himself a learned lawyer, especially in what regarded commercial transactions. He was acquainted with most of the great men of his time, at home and abroad; and it is said of him, that he communicated his information with so much exactness, discrimination and taste, that his listeners became familiar with the principles of the law without much labor, and no one could profit more by these communications than Mr. Webster. It may be doubted

whether Massachusetts has ever produced a man of more accomplished manners and demeanor than Christopher Gore, or one from whom Mr. Webster could have derived greater advantages.

In the midst of the books which Mr. Gore's extensive library embraced, and with the advantages of Mr. Gore's conversation, Mr. Webster sat down to make himself a lawyer on a broad scale, and thenceforth no student ever moved forward with more method in the pursuit of his object. The first effort he made was to render himself master of special pleading, and the first book he read on the subject was the old folio edition of Saunders—Williams' edition of that work had not then appeared. Mr. Webster translated the Latin and Norman French into English, and made an abstract of every case in the book. This made him familiar with the forms of special pleading, which is necessary to every lawyer, and with the clear teaching and profound suggestions of Mr. Gore, he was soon regarded as a great special pleader.

At this time, he discovered that a profound knowledge of English History was necessary to make a lawyer, and in fact that law was an historical science. He devoted much time to David Hume's History. Lingard, Turner, Hallam, and a host of other historians, who have gone more into the details than Hume, and have consequently saved the student much labor, had not then appeared. Mr. Webster had, therefore, to make painful researches in obtaining, as he did, a correct knowledge of the origin and progress of the English law.

Mr. Knapp, who has written something about

this period of Mr. Webster's life, says that Mr. Gore soon became acquainted with the capacity and acquirements of his students, and forgot or laid aside the office relation, and they stood to each other as mutual and intellectual friends, without regard to the difference in their respective ages. Mr. Gore had been several years familiar with the best English lawyers, the forms of proceedings in the Courts, and the customs of counsellors and advocates, and imparted to Mr. Webster a knowledge which books could not or did not impart. There is a living law which governs courts, which can only be obtained by practice and observation. One year spent with Mr. Gore, in addition to what he had previously acquired, rendered Mr. Webster a pretty good lawyer, qualified for admission to the bar. Mr. Gore introduced him to the Court in a speech highly complimentary, and while stating his character and qualifications, predicted his subsequent distinction and eminence. He was admitted in 1805.

While Mr. Webster was pursuing his studies in Boston, he boarded with a Mrs. Whitwell, where he became acquainted with a Mr. Taylor Baldwin, an eccentric, but an intelligent gentleman, with whom he used to have much table-talk, and from whom he derived much information about "the world at large and matters and things in general;" Mr. Taylor Baldwin thereby became his friend. He also became acquainted, under the same circumstances, with Mr. Rufus Green Emery, who, as I will soon tell you, was a friend in need. In October, 1804, at the solicitation of Mr. Emery, who wished to promote the happiness of his friend, Mr. Webster was induced to set

out on what was at that time regarded a long journey, in an open carriage with Mr. Taylor Baldwin, who travelled for the benefit of his health. He went to Springfield, on the Connecticut River, thence to Hartford, thence to Salisbury, thence to Albany. On arriving at that city he took lodgings at a tavern in State street, near the foot of the hill, and remained there a fortnight. He became acquainted with Abraham Van Vecten, then young, but afterwards an eminent lawyer.

He visited the Schuylers, and was most courteously entertained at Schuyler Place. He also made the acquaintance of Mr. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, and indeed of most of the prominent citizens. After seeing all that there was to be seen at Albany, learning much about the men, and the politics of the State of New-York, he and his friend, Mr. Taylor Baldwin, returned to Boston, where Mr. Webster completed his studies. About this time his father, being one of the Judges of the County Court in New Hampshire, procured for Mr. Webster the appointment of Clerk of the Court, with emoluments equal to about $1500 a year. His father thought the appointment would gratify his son personally, and more especially, as it would afford him money; which at that time was wanted. He lost no time in communicating the news of this good fortune to his son at Boston, and in requesting him to hasten home, to enter on the duties and the emoluments of the office. He thought on the happening of this event, that no young man in all New England was more fortunate than his son. Mr. Webster told what had occurred to his

friend Mr. Gore, who, foreseeing the destiny of his student, unhesitatingly advised him not to accept the appointment. He admitted that it was a high compliment to so young a man, but he advised him to pursue his profession, and he gave such cogent reasons for what he urged him to do, that Mr. Webster concluded to decline it.

The difficulty of satisfying his father that the course he had resolved to pursue, was the best, now arose in his mind. To aid Mr. Webster and his brother Ezekiel in obtaining an education, their father had resorted to borrowing money, and there was a mortgage for it to be paid. A debt was a sore incumbrance, more so in those days than at the present time. Ezekiel Webster was doing his best, and was then in Boston teaching a select school to earn money towards discharging that mortgage. Edward Everett, since so highly distinguished, was, by-the-bye, one of his pupils. The desire to relieve his excellent father from all pecuniary responsibility on his account, now that he had the power to do it, was, of course, very great, but the sacrifice of his future prospects was in the scale, weighing against the Clerkship, and its emoluments. In this dilemma, his friend Mr. Rufus Green Emery, be it mentioned to the credit of his fame, on hearing what the difficulty was, put gold into Mr. Webster's pocket, and sent him home to see his father personally on the subject. I have heard Mr. Webster tell the story, and it is a pity that I should mar it. On arriving at home he found his father sitting in his easy chair, not knowing one word of what had passed in Boston, or of his

intentions as to the Clerkship. He received his son affectionately, and with a manner that seemed to say, "our anxieties are now ended." His father lost no time in telling him how "readily and how handsomely his request had been complied with. I had not," said he to his son, "more than mentioned it, before it was done." "His eyes," said Mr. Webster, "were brimful of the tears of gratitude, as he told it to me."

"Judge," said he, "of my father's disappointment and manifest vexation, when I told him I must resign the office. He could not at first believe his own ears. He, of course, wanted to know the reason. I told him I could do better! I laid down the gold to pay the mortgage, and all the debts on my own and my brother's account. I wrote a letter thanking the Judges for the honor they had done me, and most respectfully resigned the office to which they had appointed me. Thereupon I hastened back to Boston, where the Court was sitting at which I was licensed to practice. I then for the first time held up my hand and took the oaths of office. At that period there were many mercantile failures among men living in New Hampshire, but trading in Boston. On its being known that Mr. Webster intended to establish himself in his native State, his friends in Boston promised him their patronage, which they most liberally fulfilled. One firm alone gave him for collection $30,000 of debts, divided into an almost incredible number of individual claims.

On the first Tuesday of September, 1805, Mr. Webster attended Court for the first time to try a cause. It was the Court of Common Pleas for the

County of Grafton, then held at Plymouth, about thirty miles north of where I am. His father was one of the Judges on the bench. The court-house was a very small building; still standing, but not now used for the same purpose. There he first addressed a court or jury. On my way from the White Hills, I went to see that old court-house. There are some persons residing in the village, but not many, who heard that first cause tried. Among them, is Hon. Moore Russel, a man of most estimable character, now of very advanced age, who knew old Col. Webster well, and who has always been an ardent friend to Mr. Webster himself. I went to see him. He remembers well Mr. Webster's first effort, and describes it as minutely as if he had heard it but yesterday.

A mile or two from Plymouth, on Baher's River, lives another of the early friends of Mr. Webster, Hon. Arthur Livermore, who also heard his maiden speech in court. Mr. Webster met at the bar, on this occasion, his friends Mr. Thomas W. Thompson, Mr. Moses P. Payson, Mr. Alden Sprague, Mr. James T. Swann, and Mr. William W. Woodward, now all dead; and Mr. Benjamin G. Gilbert, and Mr. Abiathan G. Britton, still living; the first residing in Boston, the last in Oxford, in this State. My informant did not, however, remember the name or title of the first cause Mr. Webster tried, but it was a civil suit of considerable importance to the parties, and which had excited some interest and feeling in the neighborhood in which they resided. The Sheriff of the county then was Col. William Webster, a distant rel-

ative of Mr. Webster, but whom he had never known till then. After Mr. Webster had finished his argument to the court and jury, the Sheriff stated to my informant, that he thought when Mr. Webster rose, he would not stand up long; he said he was ashamed to see so lean and feeble a young man come into court, bearing the name of Webster. But he astonished everybody with his eloquence, learning, and his powers for reasoning. To use the quaint expression of Mr. Russel, they found "an old head on young shoulders." Thenceforth, he never wanted clients—they came like the leaves of the forest.

Mr. Webster, in a letter to a friend, speaking of his father, says: "My first speech at the bar was made when he was on the bench; he never heard me a second time."

The night is clear; the rays of the silver moon fall on this paper, giving almost as much light as the lamp before me; and I could run on in this manner till the morning dawns, but that whip-poor-will, with her "all night descant" invites me to sleep, as she has done before, while she continues her sweet serenade.

Yours, with regards.

MR. WEBSTER OPENS A LAW-OFFICE—BOSCAWEN—HIS FIRST CRIMINAL CASE—HIS LEGAL OPPONENTS.

ELMS FARM, N. H., September —, 1849.

* * * On being admitted at the bar, Mr. Webster was urged by his friends in Boston to open an office there. He had formed many acquaint-

ances and several friendships, which would have been of the greatest advantage to him; and there is no doubt that, under the auspices of Mr. Gore, and the patronage of his friends, his success would have been great; but he loved his father, who was then old, and he, his devoted son, could not be induced to go far off. I have seen a letter, written by Mr. Webster to a friend, in which he says: "My opening an office in Boscawen was, that I might be near him." Therefore he remained at his father's house awhile, but opened an office as a lawyer in Boscawen, a neighboring village between this and Concord, which was the seat of the State Government, and, as usual, put up a simple sign over his door, "D. Webster, Attorney," which is still in existence, another memento of his early beginnings.

The Indian name of that town was Contoocook, but it was afterwards changed to its present name, in honor of Edward Boscawen, a celebrated English Admiral, who, in 1760, was on the American station. The principal village is in the Eastern section of the town, on a spacious street, nearly two miles in length, very straight and level. From the numerous streams of water, and the peculiar shape of the hills, the air is pure, the temperature is uniform, and therefore conducive to health. The eye of the traveller is delighted with the view of the fertile valleys and romantic windings of the Merrimack. I have driven through this town with great pleasure to-day. There was a charm about it, at the time of which I am speaking, attractive to a student of fine taste and quiet habits. It was, moreover, the immediate neigh-

borhood of his early and devoted friend, Mr. Wood, whose learning rendered his early society valuable and always desirable. These considerations, as well as because it was virtually his home, made it very attractive. Soon after he began to practise law, a trial for murder came on in the county of Plymouth, and the Judges assigned him to defend the prisoner, although the time had not elapsed for his admission as a counsellor at the Supreme Court of the State. His commanding talents warranted this deviation from the general rule.

The account I have of this effort as a criminal advocate, which was his second effort at the bar, the first being in a civil suit, I will give in the words of an eminent man, who related it some twenty years ago:

"The murder," said he, "was foul and horrid; perpetrated on an innocent man—a fellow-prisoner for debt. They were in the same room, no provocation was given by the sufferer, or none that would in the slightest degree palliate the offence. The fact of killing could not be questioned; the defence, of course, was narrowed to one point,—'the *insanity of the prisoner*.' There were no proofs of his former insanity, but the malignity of his disposition was well known to all the country around. His counsel, nevertheless, was not deterred from going on, with all these formidable circumstances to contend with. He argued, that the enormity of the deed, perpetrated without motive, or without any of those motives operating upon most minds, furnished presumptive proof of the alienation of the prisoner's mind; and even the cool

deliberation, and apparent serenity which he exhibited at the time the deed was done, were proofs that reason was perverted, and a momentary insanity had come over him. The advocate astonished the court and jury, and all who heard him, by his deep knowledge of the human mind. He opened all the springs of action, and analyzed every faculty of the mind so lucidly and philosophically, that it was a new school for those who heard him. He showed the different shapes insanity assumed, from a single current of false reasoning upon a particular subject, while there is a perfect soundness of mind upon every other subject; to the reasoning aright upon wrong premises, and to the reasoning wrong upon right premises, up to those paroxysms of madness, when the eye is filled with strange sights, and the ear with strange sounds, and reason is entirely dethroned. As he laid open the infirmities of human nature, the jury were in tears, and the bystanders still more affected; but common sense prevailed over argument and eloquence, and the wretch was convicted and executed. Notwithstanding the fate of the murderer, the speech lost nothing of its effect upon the people. It was long the subject of conversation in every public place, and is often mentioned now with admiration."

The same gentleman asserts that Mr. Webster had not been two years at the bar, before he was considered one of the very best jury lawyers in New Hampshire, and he began to travel the State, attending the Circuit Courts in all the counties, and was engaged in cases to be opposed by the first men in this country. Among these, said he, were two gen-

tlemen very much distinguished in their profession. Mr. Mason, for his eminent talents and skill in the management of causes, had acquired an extensive practice. He was witty, sarcastic, argumentative and persevering, and therefore a most powerful antagonist. The other was Judge Smith, who resided in a neighboring town, and about this time had returned to the bar, after having been Chief Justice of the State. He was one of the best read lawyers in New England, and also a fine classical scholar. His speaking at the bar was easy, fluent, playful or severe, as the occasion required. His opinions passed for law with the court and jury, and the weight of his character was felt in every cause in which he was engaged. With these, and others of eminence, Mr. Webster had to contend, at an age when most young lawyers are preparing themselves for future labors, in minor causes and in inferior courts. He did not rely on his eloquence for success, but prepared himself with great industry and care. He secured the jury by a clear statement of his case, and he always used such plain language that they could not misunderstand him; they thought it was just such as they would have used had they been called to tell the same story, not knowing how difficult it is to reach such a style of communicating our thoughts. The elder practitioners now sharpened their wits to take the lead of him in the law arguments to the bench. In this they were disappointed, for he was at home there also. He argued his causes before the Judges of the court with as much clearness and force as he had done to the jury. His mind, naturally logical,

seized the strong points in a law case, and he pushed his reasonings home to the understandings of the Judges. His seniors at the bar now found it was better to divide the empire with him than to dispute it. These great men soon became his cordial friends, and are now, said he, among his warmest admirers and eulogists. He met them in the counties of Hillsborough, Rockingham, Strafford, Cheshire, Grafton, Merrimack and Sullivan, almost as often as the court sat. The Court of Common Pleas held two sessions in each year, and the Superior Court also held two sessions per annum in each of these counties. To meet these men on terms of equality, he was forced to study with diligence every point that was made. They had long experience, which he had not. No better training could have been devised for Mr. Webster, than to call on him almost every day to meet either Jeremiah Mason or Judge Smith. What a school that must have been! Then it was he acquired that habit of retiring at an early hour in the evening, and rising the next morning with the lark, as he is accustomed to speak of this habit; or at the break of day, while others still slept, he carefully studied his cases, and prepared to meet his great antagonists at the opening of the court. He never met them unprepared. On one occasion, while talking on this subject, he said, "if anybody should think I was somewhat familiar with the law on some points, and should be curious enough to desire to know how it happened, tell him that Jeremiah Mason compelled me to study it. He was my master."

Mr. Webster never in his life took any credit to himself for what was much praised.

Yours, truly.

HIS PREPARATION OF HIS CASES—ATTENDS TO GENERAL LITERATURE—ORATION AT CONCORD—ONE OF HIS PROFESSORS AT DARTMOUTH—SOME ACCOUNT OF HIM.

ELMS FARM, Sept. —, 1849.

* * * I have been repeatedly told by those who were engaged with or opposed to him, that no lawyer ever came into court to try his cases before a Jury, or to argue his cases before the Judges, better prepared than Mr. Webster. He sounded his clients thoroughly, and explored every probable ground of his adversaries, so that on the trial he was rarely surprised by any new or unlooked-for testimony; and, in connection with this subject it is said, it was much more rarely that he manifested his surprise, if, perchance, any thing unexpected was disclosed. So in the argument of cases at the bar, he was always prepared with ample authority from the books, to sustain all the points he made, and he was armed to the teeth with reason or ridicule, to meet his adversary against every supposable attack he could make. Young as he was, it was an intellectual treat to hear him in Court.

Although as ready as other men without special preparation, and always quick in repelling an attack and at repartee, yet he could not, and would not excuse himself for not being thoroughly prepared. In

his opinion it was due to his client and to the Court, that he should be able and ready to say all that he could say on the subject under consideration. The idea of slurring a matter over superficially, and thereby apparently entitling himself to a fee, was more repugnant to his feelings, and more foreign to his practice than that of any man in this or any State.

While out of Court, during the time intervening between the terms, he devoted some time to other subjects. He devoured every new book with great avidity, and followed, in his reading, every traveller over the globe. He was partial to the biographies of eminent men, and added much to his knowledge of human nature by a careful perusal of whatever was meritorious in that field of reading. Nor did he suffer his *pen* to remain idle. He entered the lists of controversy with some of the master-spirits of that day, and evinced great talents as an essayist. At that time there was a magazine or review of high character published at Cambridge, known as the *Monthly Anthology*, and which was edited by his early friend, Joseph S. Buckminster, of whom I spoke in a former letter. This Review was supported by distinguished gentlemen at Boston and Cambridge. Among its contributors were the Rev. Mr. Emerson, Rev. Dr. J. S. J. Gardner, Professor Willard, of Cambridge, Mr. William Wells, Mr. Frank Channing, Mr. William Tudor, Mr. Samuel Dexter, Dr. Kirkland, Mr. A. M. Walter, Mr. John Lowell, the traveller, and says the biographer of Mr. Buckminster, "Daniel Webster, from the rocky wilds of New-

Hampshire, enriched its pages with his winged thoughts." That writer also says, that when it is recollected that all the contributors to the *Anthology* were men engaged in laborious and exacting professions, that their contributions were the fruits of chance half-hours, or of moments lighted by the midnight lamp, after days of fatiguing labor in their offices, there is certainly a wonderful degree of unity of purpose and harmony of sentiment, and a general respectability in its pages, highly creditable to the dawning literature of the day. Any one reading it now will be startled at the independent tone of its criticism. Mr. Webster's glowing fancy and profound thoughts shine in many an article which he transmitted to the editor under an anonymous signature, from that unpretending law office which he occupied in the lovely village of Boscawen. Mr. Webster, on a recent occasion, told me that being at the office of the editor of that paper, he met, and made the acquaintance of the celebrated Fisher Ames.

On the 4th of July, 1806, he was chosen by the people of Concord, the seat of government and its vicinity to deliver the Oration. His reputation as an Orator drew together on that occasion a large concourse of people, and his Oration produced a profound sensation. Although he had not entered the field as a politician, and did not intend to enter it, yet he met the wishes of his hearers by discussing the most interesting political topics of the day.

The subject of his speech was the question, whether it were possible to preserve the present form of our government—the solitary representative of

Republican institutions. It was a subject for the contemplation of mankind.

"When we speak of *preserving the Constitution*," said he, "we mean not the paper on which it is written, but the *spirit* which dwells in it. Government *may* lose all its real character, its genius, its temper, without losing its appearance. Republicanism," said he, "unless you guard it, will creep out of its case of parchment, like a snake out of its skin. You may have a Despotism, under the name of a Republic. You may look on a government, and see it possess all the external modes of Freedom, and yet find nothing of the essence, the vitality, of Freedom in it; just as you may contemplate an embalmed body, where art hath preserved proportion and form, amid nerves without motion, and veins void of blood."

Among the most numerous and the most dangerous enemies of our Government, he mentioned the passions and vices of the people. But considering that evil communications corrupt systems, as well as individuals, he enlarged on the dangers which threatened its well-being from its foreign relations. Intimately connected as was our country with foreign nations by commerce, which, from its nature, cannot exist without rivalship, he inferred the necessity and good policy of granting it a protection, sufficient to defend it from the interruptions and aggressions, which the spirit of rivalship and the injustice of other nations, may dispose them to offer. The want of protection to commerce, said he, will be more fatal to our agriculture, than either the drought or the mildew; for, in this instance, were it left to our choice,

we should certainly imitate the conduct of David by choosing "to fall into the hands of the Lord, (for his mercies are great,) and not to fall into the hands of men." One of the publications of that time, in speaking of the Oration, says: "We have seldom read any production of this kind, which has contained more correct sentiments, expressed with so much felicity of fancy and purity of style. It is free from the rancorous colorings of party spirit, which are wholly inconsistent with true eloquence. If there is any fault in the style, it is that the sentences, though not colloquial, are in general too sententious, and expressed with too much brevity for the flow of a public harangue." I add one more extract from which our readers may judge of the style.

"When we turn from Great Britain to France, we are led to contemplate a nation of very different situation, power, and character. We seem to be carried back to the Roman Age. The days of Cæsar are come again. Even a greater than Cæsar is here. The throne of the Bourbons is filled by a new character, of the most astonishing fortunes.

"A new dynasty hath taken place in Europe. A new era hath commenced. An Empire is founded, more populous, more energetic, more warlike, more powerful, than Ancient Rome, at any moment of her existence. The basis of this mighty fabric covers France, Holland, Spain, Prussia, Italy, and Germany; embracing, perhaps, an eighth part of the population of the globe.

"Though this Empire is commercial in some degree, and in some of its parts, its ruling passion is

not commerce, but war. Its genius is conquest; its ambition is fame. With all the immorality, the licentiousness, the prodigality, the corruption, of declining Rome, it has the enterprise, the courage, the ferocity of Rome in the days of the Consuls. While the French Revolution was acting, it was difficult to speak of France, without exciting the rancor of political party. The cause, in which our leaders professed to be engaged, was too dear to American hearts, to suffer their motives to be questioned, or their excesses censured, with just severity. But the Revolutionary Drama is now closed—the curtain hath fallen on those tremendous scenes, which for fourteen years held the eyes of the world—that meteor, which 'from its horrid hair shook pestilence and war,' hath now passed off into the distant regions of space, and left us to speculate coolly on the causes of its wonderful appearance."

The same manly, vigorous style which displayed itself then, in his speaking and writing, has been cultivated ever since. He has at length established for it a high reputation. Almost all speakers and writers strive to acquire it, though few indeed succeed. Men of letters of our time have affixed to it his great name. It is denominated the "Websterian style."

Not far from the time Mr. Webster began to practise law, his friend, that eminent professor who had taken great pleasure in instructing him in all the sound principles of philosophy, while in College, departed this life. I promised to tell you more about him than I did in the letter, in which I mentioned him, but I cannot do better than to state what was

said in an obituary notice published a week after his decease:

DIED.

"Last Saturday, at Hanover, the Hon. Bezaliel Woodward, Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy, in Dartmouth College. It might be thought needless to address the public on a character so generally known, and so unanimously approved. But as it is no more than a just tribute of respect to the deceased, rightly to appreciate their virtues in life; and as the living ought to profit by examples of departed worth, it is suitable to give a very general portrait of him whose death we lament, and the memory of whose life will ever be useful and pleasing.

"The birth and early life of Professor Woodward were at Lebanon, in the State of Connecticut. In the 20th year of his age he was graduated at Yale College, 1764. After a few years successfully employed in the ministry, he was elected a Tutor in this University. Here he soon displayed such talents and improvements, such readiness of thought, and ease of communication, that he was appointed to the office of Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy. The dignity with which he discharged the duties of his station is witnessed by all who have shared in his instructions. In the civil department, and as a member of society, he was no less eminent, than as an instructor in College. We might also add his usefulness in the Church of Christ at this place, of which he was long a worthy member, and high in the esteem and affections of his Christian brethren. His remains were interred on

Tuesday last. The Rev. Dr. Smith delivered upon the occasion a well-adapted discourse. Dr. Smith was himself one of the Professors. The Officers, Trustees, and members of the College, joined as mourners, with the afflicted family, and the solemnities were attended by a very numerous collection of his friends and acquaintances.

"The *Alumni* of Dartmouth will join with its present officers and members in deploring the loss of a faithful and able instructor. Those who visited him in his late illness, had a specimen of decaying greatness, alleviated by an approving conscience, and sustained by resignation and hope. The friends of science will lament the departure of one of its enlightened patrons. Society sympathizes with the bereaved family, retaining a lively sense of his public and domestic virtues; and a numerous acquaintance will mingle their grief in bemourning the loss of a sincere friend, a valuable citizen, and an exemplary Christian."

The links which bound Mr. Webster to those whose instruction had benefited him were stronger than golden links; and as you may well suppose, were never severed without a pang. Throughout his career, he has been remarkable for his attachment to the living and to the memory of the dead who had any hand in framing his mind. He lamented the death of Dr. Woodward as a child laments the death of an indulgent father. It has so happened that I have heard Mr. Webster often speak of this great teacher and philosopher, and of the pleasure he took in drinking at a fountain of so much learning. He always gave

him credit for teaching him how to think, and to express his thoughts with brevity, instead of the redundant style to which he was at first too much inclined. That great scholar, said he, taught me how much I could strike out of whatever I wrote or spoke, and still have enough to communicate all I desired to say."

Yours with regards.

HEALTH BAD—REMOVES TO PORTSMOUTH—OFTEN MEETS MR. MASON—MARRIED—TAKES PART IN POLITICS—GREAT MEETING IN ROCKINGHAM—UPHOLDS THE UNION—HIS POPULARITY IN PORTSMOUH.

ELMS FARM, N. H., Sept. —, 1849.

MR. WEBSTER continued to practise law with business enough to gratify his wishes, and at the same time pursue a systematic course of studies at his office in Boscawen for two years. At this period I learn from one of his relations, his friends became alarmed, believing his constitution was rapidly sinking under the severity of his application to books. His retreat was too quiet; indeed it was destitute of any of those excitements so necessary to break the monotony of a student's life, and relax his mind. In the society there at that day their was little gayety, little cheerfulness.

His solitary rambles with his gun or fishing-rod did not unbend his mind, but whether in the forest or on the banks of the stream, his thoughts were in the depth of his client's case or wrapped in profound meditation. Mr. Webster was not born to live in solitude. In September, 1807, his friends persuaded

him to establish himself at Portsmouth, the commercial city of the State, rapidly growing in importance.

He had built up a lucrative local business, which he turned over to his brother Ezekiel, who had now been admitted to the bar. In his new home he found an intelligent circle of friends, in whose midst he was induced to pass leisure hours which at Boscawen would have been devoted to intense study. He also pursued a systematic course of out door exercises. In this manner his time passed off happily, he regained his health, became robust and capable of enduring any hardship, sustaining any fatigue, or confining himself closely to books for any reasonable time.

There, too, he met his great antagonist at the bar, the lion in his very den. It was the residence of Mr. Jeremiah Mason. Before he went to Portsmouth, Mr. Mason had extended to him a friendly hand; but now, he became his warmest friend, his most frequent associate, and that friendship continued unbroken till recently, when death laid Mr. Mason low in the dust. Of course you have read what Mr. Webster said on that occasion. Mr. Webster was engaged either on the same side with Mr. Mason or opposed to him in almost every important cause in the State. They travelled the circuits together, and while attending court occupied apartments in the same house, and always sat at the same table. This friendly intercourse was marvellous to those who saw them daily contending so ardently in court for opposite opinions. None but great men could have presented so pleasing a spectacle. There are in the trial of exciting causes in which whole communities are

often pitted against each other, many occasions when the clashing steel hits an adversary though cased in iron, making a wound which nothing but magnanimity can heal.

Mr. Webster was now on the road to prosperity; his clients and friends were numerous, his means, for one in his situation in life, were amply sufficient to meet all his expenses and to discharge every obligation which he or his brother had incurred. He had some time been engaged to be married, and he did marry.

In an old paper, the "*Portsmouth Oracle*," printed June 11, 1808, I read yesterday the announcement, "Married *in Salisbury*, Daniel Webster, Esq., *of this town*, to Miss Grace Fletcher." I have seen the house in which Mrs. Fletcher then resided. Driving one day with Mr. Webster he pointed it out.

The father of this young lady was the Rev. Elijah Fletcher, of Hopkinton. He was the son of the Mr. Timothy Fletcher, of Westford, Massachusetts, whose wife was Bridget, the third daughter of Captain Zachariah Richardson, of Chelmsford. Mr. Fletcher graduated at Harvard in 1769. He was ordained January 27, 1772, and died April 8, 1786, aged 39. Few men were ever more respected or beloved. Of the five ministers who had been settled in Hopkinton, previous to 1820, he is the only one who died in the ministry. One who knew him well, says of him, "he was the patron of many students, and among them, the late President Webber, of Harvard College, whom he found a poor boy in his parish, possessed of native genius, and disposed for improve-

ment. Mr. Fletcher prepared him for College, and assisted him in procuring an education. The President ever acknowledged his obligations to his early instructor and friend. Mr. Fletcher left four children, three daughters and one son. One married a Mr. White, of Pittsfield; one married the Hon. Israel W. Kelly, of Salisbury, and the other married Mr. Webster. Timothy Fletcher, the only son, was, and perhaps is, a merchant in Portland. Mr. Fletcher's widow married the Rev. Christopher Page, and died at Salisbury, July 9, 1821, aged 67.

During the years 1808–09–10–11, Mr. Webster continued his exertions at the bar, in this State, occasionally going into Massachusetts, during which time he tried more causes in Court, and his well-earned fame was rising higher and spreading wider than that of any other man of his age in this country. Massachusetts seemed to take as deep an interest in him as his native State.

When Mr. Webster went to Portsmouth to reside with his wife, they took lodgings at the house of a widow lady, where they resided some time, and were regarded as the proprietors of the establishment, he paying all the expenses. At last he bought the house, furniture and all pertaining to it, and had just paid for it, when it took fire and was burnt to ashes.

One, who knew him well, a classmate of his brother Ezekiel, from whom I have before quoted, thus speaks of Mr. Webster when he first began to take a part in the great political drama which has been on the stage for forty years.

"It was natural," said he, "that one so well fitted for public life should feel some desire to try his fortune in politics, at least so far as to measure his strength with those of other men, who had gained reputation in the halls of legislation. He began well; the times were stormy; war hung over us; party spirit was full of bitterness in every part of the country; sound and fury took the place of fair discussion, and rancorous feuds were in every town and village, but Mr. Webster entered into none of them. He was decided, firm, and straightforward. No politician was ever more direct or bold; he had nothing of the demagogue about him.

"Fully persuaded of the true course, he followed it with so much firmness and principle, that sometimes his serenity was taken by the furious and headstrong as apathy; but when a fair and legitimate opportunity offered, he came out with such strength and manliness, that the doubting were satisfied, and the complaining silenced. In the worst of times, and in the darkest hour, he had faith in the redeeming qualities of the people. They might be wrong, but he saw into their true character sufficiently to believe that they would never remain permanently in error. In some of his conversations upon the subject, he compared the people in their management of national affairs to that of the sagacious and indefatigable raftsmen on his own Merrimack, who had falls and shoals to contend with in their course to the ocean—guiding fearlessly and skilfully over the former, between rocks and through breakers, and when reaching the sand-banks, jumping off into

the water, with lever, axe, and oar, and then with pushing, cutting, and directing, made all rub and go, to the astonishment of those looking on.

"The first halo of political glory that hung around his brow, was at a Convention of the great spirits in the county of Rockingham, where he then resided, and such representatives from other counties as were sent to this Convention, to take into consideration the state of the nation, and to mark out such a course for themselves as should be deemed advisable by the collected wisdom of those assembled. On this occasion, an Address, with a string of Resolutions were proposed for adoption, of which he was said to be the author. They exhibited uncommon powers of intellect, and a profound knowledge of our national interests. He made a most powerful speech in support of these Resolutions, portions of which were reprinted at that time, and which were much admired in every part of the Union."

A gentleman residing in Portsmouth was present, and on the day following wrote this account of it: "Yesterday there was a meeting in this County, at Brentwood, a town about twenty miles from Portsmouth. It was called by notification in the public papers. It was the most numerous ever known in this State, more than two thousand persons attended, and more than *five hundred carriages* conveyed them there, besides horses, &c.

"The company began to assemble in the meeting-house, but soon found that would not contain them, and erected a stage in the open air. They chose Samuel Tenney, Esq., of Exeter (formerly member

of Congress), their Chairman, and Walter A. Kent, their Secretary, and were addressed by N. A. Haven, George Sullivan, Daniel Webster, Esqs., and a number of others, in speeches that are highly spoken of by good judges.

"A Committee of seventeen was appointed to draft resolutions, &c.; the meeting adjourned for two hours; they re-assembled at the time; the Committee reported a very spirited address, and a set of resolutions equal to any that have been published; and they were adopted unanimously." Mr. Webster occupied about an hour and a half, and he astonished all who heard him in this new field with the extent of his knowledge of political affairs. How gratifying it would be if the whole of his speech had been reported. In those days as in the present, there were persons who talked of dissolving the Union.

I quote a passage from his address adopted by the meeting to show that Mr. Webster was ready then as now to protest against dissolution, to forewarn his countrymen, and to resist by manly argument all such treasonable attempts to undo what our forefathers had done.

"We shrink," said the address, "from the separation of the States, as an event fraught with incalculable evils, and it is among our strongest objections to the present course of measures, that they have, in our opinion, a very *dangerous* and *alarming* bearing on such an event. If a separation of the States *ever should* take place, it will be on some occasion when one portion of the country undertakes to control, to regulate, and to *sacrifice* the interest of an-

other; when a small and heated *majority* in the Government, taking counsel of their passions, and not of their reason, contemptuously disregarding the interests, and, perhaps, stopping the mouths of a *large* and *respectable* minority, shall by hasty, rash, and ruinous measures, threaten to destroy essential rights, and lay waste the most important interests."

Liberty and Union were with him then, as they are now and for ever, one and inseparable.

After this event, Mr. Webster was acknowledged to be the master spirit of the city in which he lived. The waves of political excitement, like the waves of the ocean, ran high, as the storm of that day raged, and the voices of mere politicians were drowned in the tumult. Men anxious to know the right and do it, withheld their opinions till Mr. Webster had delivered his, and declared what course he should pursue, and then, as if all doubts were removed, they went forward with zeal. Flippant speeches, appeals to the feelings when the question was *war or no war*, would not suffice. To quote again his own words, "The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments, and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself feels rebuked, and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then, patriotism is eloquent; then, self-devotion is eloquent.

A gentleman travelling through Portsmouth, gives

an account of one of the gatherings of the people, and of the enthusiasm displayed which I think will interest you.

He says his carriage was brought to the door, and he was about to get into it, when the hostler said, "Sir, are you going to leave the town? Mr. Webster is to speak to-night!" The gentleman finding all classes so much delighted to hear that Mr. Webster was going to speak, ordered his horses to the stable, and put off his journey until the morrow. At early candlelight he went to the Hall where the meeting was held. It was filled to overflowing, but some persons seeing that he was a stranger gave way, and he found a convenient place to stand; no one could sit. A tremendous noise soon announced that the orator himself had arrived; but as soon as the meeting was organized, another arose to make some remarks upon the object of the Caucus. He was heard with a polite apathy. Another and another came, and all spoke well; but this would not do, and if Chatham had been among them, or St. Paul, they would not have met the expectations of the multitude. The admired orator at length arose, and was for a while musing upon something, which was drowned by a constant cheering; but when order was restored, he went on with great serenity and ease to make his remarks, without apparently making the slightest attempt to gain applause.

The audience was still, except now and then a murmur of delight, which showed that the great mass of the hearers were ready to burst into a thunder of applause, if those who generally set the ex-

ample would have given an intimation that it might have been done; but they, devouring every word, made signs to prevent any interruption. The harangue was ended; the roar of applause lasted long, and was sincere and heart-felt. It was a strong, gentlemanly and appropriate speech, but there was not a particle of the demagogue about it—nothing like the speeches on the hustings, to catch attention. He drew a picture of the candidates on both sides of the question, and proved, as far as reason and argument could prove, the superiority of those of his own choice; and this gentleman, who was a very good judge, has often said that the most extraordinary part of it was, that a promiscuous audience should have had good sense enough to relish such sound, good reasoning, in a place where vague declamation generally is best received. As the traveller went on to the East, he found the fame of the speech had preceded him, and was talked of in every bar-room and at every public table.

At this time he was quite young to occupy such a position; and it must be remembered too, that it was in the town where there lived Jeremiah Mason, a man theretofore regarded throughout New England as the Alpha and Omega of every thing great, original, or worthy of public consideration. The truth is, it was in him. So great a mind could not be outshone or overshadowed by anybody less meritorious, however well established in the general estimation.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER ELECTED TO CONGRESS—RESULTS OF THE ELECTION—FIRST SPEECH AND RESOLUTIONS.

ELMS FARM, N. H., Sept. —, 1849.

* * * In the year 1812, after a spirited and closely contested canvass, Mr. Webster was elected to Congress. The election here was then, as has been until recently, by general ticket. The following was the result of the election:

THE WEBSTER TICKET.

Daniel Webster . . .	18,597	Samuel Smith . . .	18,569
Bradbury Cilley . . .	18,595	Roger Vose	18,611
William Hale	18,583	Jeduthun Wilcox . .	18,478

OPPOSITION TICKET.

John F. Parrott . . .	16,051	Jesse Johnson . . .	15,927
John H. Harper . . .	15,985	Josiah Butler	15,764
David L. Morrill . .	16,060	Number of Scattering .	784
Samuel Dinsmoor . .	15,996		

It was a proud day to the personal friends of Mr. Webster, old and young, when they finally ascertained at Portsmouth that the ticket, at the head of which stood his name, was successful, and their rejoicings were very great.

The usual time for the meeting of Congress was in December, but that was during the war, and the President called an extra session at an earlier day. I have heard Mr. Webster relate the story of his first journey to the seat of government. The "mail coach" was then the most expeditious mode of travelling, and, in company with agreeable companions, he set out early in May. He went to Boston, thence to Hartford, thence to New Haven, thence a very long

journey to New-York, thence to Princeton, the residence of Governor Stockton, and so on, at the rate of only a few miles a day, till he finally reached Washington. Mileage then meant something.

I have heard a great many persons say, I wonder what Mr. Webster first *did* and first *said* on entering Congress. If you have not taken the trouble to look at the records of that day, it may interest you to know. I will briefly relate.

On the 24th of May, 1813, he took his seat in the House of Representatives. There his name stands at the head of the list of members, as it was published by the *National Intelligencer* on the next day. He had never been a member of any Legislative body, yet it is well known he made himself perfectly familiar in the outset with all the rules and orders, and understood the law of Parliament as well as it could be understood from books and observation. Hatsell and all the writers on this subject were thoroughly studied.

The first act of the House in which he was concerned, was, of course, to organize itself for business. Henry Clay was chosen Speaker, being a much older man and having been some time in Congress.

The first Committee on which Mr. Webster served was the Committee *on Foreign Affairs;* which then, owing to the difficulties in which the country was involved with other countries, was the most important of the House. His associates were Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Grundy, Mr. Jackson, of Virginia, Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Fish, of New-York, all great men.

He remained quiet in his seat, attending daily,

until June 11, when he moved the House on the boldest measure that could be brought before the members for their consideration. It was the subject of certain French Decrees, known as the Berlin and Milan decrees. I will set it forth as I find it reported the following day.

MR. WEBSTER'S MAIDEN SPEECH IN CONGRESS.

Mr. Webster rose, as he said, to call the attention of the House to a subject of considerable importance —a task which he had hoped would have fallen into the hands of some other gentleman better qualified than himself to undertake it. He then read the following resolutions, which embodied his sentiments:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to inform this House, unless the public interest should, in his opinion, forbid such communication, 'when, by whom, and in what manner the first intelligence was given to this Government of the decree of the Government of France, bearing date the 28th of April, 1811, and purporting to be a definitive repeal of the decrees of Berlin and Milan.

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to inform this House, whether Mr. Russell, late *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States at the Court of France, hath ever admitted or denied to his Government the correctness of the declaration of the Duke of Bassano to Mr. Barlow, the late Minister of the United States at that Court, as stated in Mr. Barlow's letter of the 12th of May, 1812, to the Secretary of State, that the said decree of April 28th, 1811, had been communicated to his

(Mr. Barlow's) predecessor there; and to lay before this House any correspondence with Mr. Russell relative to that subject, which it may not be improper to communicate; and also any correspondence between Mr. Barlow and Mr. Russell on that subject, which may be in the possession of the Department of State.

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to inform this House, whether the Minister of France near the United States ever informed this Government of the existence of the said decree of the 28th of April, 1811, and to lay before the House any correspondence that may have taken place with the said Minister relative thereto, which the President may not think improper to be communicated.

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to this House any other information which may be in his possession, and which he may not deem injurious to the public interest to disclose, relative to the said decree of the 28th of April, 1811, and tending to show at what time, by whom, and in what manner the said decree was first made known to this Government or to any of its representatives or agents."

"*Resolved*, That the President be requested, in case the fact be, that the first information of the existence of said decree of the 28th of April, 1811, ever received by this Government or any of its ministers or agents, was that communicated in May, 1812, by the Duke of Bassano, to Mr. Barlow, and by him to his Government, as mentioned in his letter to the Secretary of State, of May 12, 1812, and the accom-

panying papers, to inform this House whether the Government of the United States hath ever received from that of France any explanation of the reasons of that decree being concealed from this Government and its Ministers for so long a time after its date; and, if such explanation has been asked by this Government, and has been omitted to be given by that of France, whether this Government has made any remonstrance, or expressed any dissatisfaction, to the Government of France, at such concealment."

These resolutions in our time would appear to be harmless, and would lack the causes of excitement, but at that day they were considered by some political leaders nothing less than so many firebrands sent forth to destroy the peace and harmony of this country, and calculated to injure the nation in the eyes of the world.

After reading them, Mr. Webster said:

"In offering these resolutions, it was not his intention, he said, to enter into any discussion or argument, or to advance any proposition whatever, on which gentlemen could adopt different views or take different sides. He would merely remark, by way of explanation, what would be remembered by all, that the subjects to which these resolutions referred, were intimately connected with the cause of the present war. The revocation of the orders in council of Great Britain was the main point on which the war turned, and it had been demanded for the reason that the French decrees had ceased to exist.

This then was the point at issue. Mr. Webster remarked, on what he termed the contradictory evi-

dence on this head, the letter of Mr. Champagny, on one hand, asserting the revocation, the speech of the Emperor to the free cities, on the other, denying it —the decisions of the French admiralty courts, on the one hand, and opposite decisions of the same courts on the other. The whole matter, in short, was involved in doubt.

But, on the declaration of war, and not until then, a decree appeared repealing the French decrees; a decree which, if issued, had lain dormant, were *brutum fulmen*, until after the war commenced, and then only made its appearance. In March last, it would also be recollected, the President had communicated to Congress, immediately before its adjournment, certain correspondence between our Government and its Minister to France, the prominent feature of which correspondence was, that, in an interview between our Minister and the French Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which took place about the first of May, 1812, it was stated by the letter that the decree in question had been put into the hands of our Minister in France, and transmitted to the French Minister in the United States, at the time at which it bore date. To shed light on this transaction, Mr. Webster said it was that he moved these resolves, in the discharge of what he deemed a duty to his constituents and his country. The declaration of the French Minister had a great bearing on the reputation of the country—on the reputation of those persons who, in their official characters, represented the dignity of the nation.

It is a matter of great regret that this speech

was not fully reported. It produced a profound sensation in the House. "No member before," says a person then in the House, "ever riveted the attention of the House so closely, in his first speech. Members left their seats when they could not see the speaker face to face, and sat down or stood on the floor, fronting him. All listened attentively and silently during the whole speech; and when it was over, many went up and warmly congratulated the orator; among whom were some, not the most niggard of their compliments, and who most dissented from the views he had expressed."

Chief Justice Marshall, writing to a friend some time after this speech, says:

"At the time when this speech was delivered, I did not know Mr. Webster, but I was so much struck with it, that I did not hesitate then to state that Mr. Webster was a very able man, and would become one of the very first statesmen in America, and perhaps the very first."

Mr. Grosvenor having required the Yeas and Nays on the question of proceeding at once to consider the resolutions, they were found to be as follows: For consideration, 132; against it, 28. This showed the effect of the speech on the House.

The resolutions having been again read, Mr. Bibb said he was persuaded that on every proper occasion, the most perfect disposition would be manifested by the House, to ask for any information solicited by one of its members. It was unquestionably their right, and under certain circumstances, their duty to ask for information of the Executive in relation to

public affairs; but under other circumstances it might be improper. We are, therefore, said Mr. B., in exercising its right, to judge of the effect any call is likely to produce on the public service. If it will not be prejudicial, the call ought to be indulged; but if it might do injury, it would unquestionably be proper to refuse the call. For myself, said Mr. B., I am unable to determine at present, from the great extent of the resolutions, whether it would be proper to make the call or not. No injury certainly could result from a day's delay. Mr. B. moved therefore, that the resolutions lie on the table, and be ordered to be printed.

Mr. Webster, with a courtesy which governed all his congressional career, said he had not the least objection to this course. He was willing to give the gentleman every opportunity to examine the resolutions, under the perfect conviction that he would find that nothing was demanded which would in any way be prejudicial to the public service.

The resolves were ordered to lie on the table accordingly.

After a few days had elapsed, these resolutions were taken up by the House. They became the subject of a most exciting debate, which was continued for a great many weeks of the session. They were finally disposed of as Mr. Webster desired, and the information sought after was obtained.

The subject arrested the attention of every intelligent man in the United States. Thenceforth Mr. Webster was on the swell of every wave of pub-

lic opinion, and his name is connected with every important act found in the history of this country.

Thus, you see, sir, that I have given some account of Mr. Webster from his birth to the time he entered Congress, including his maiden speech. I know much more than I have written that is creditable to him, but I will not trouble you to read it. What I have written may not be worth the pains I have taken. Little very little has been known about his early life. Everybody who knows anything of Mr. Webster, knows that he is himself not the hero of many of the stories or anecdotes in telling which he completely charms his hearers. There are only a few persons who ever hear him speak at any length of his boyhood, or of the toils he endured and the difficulties he surmounted to reach his position among men. I have met a few persons who knew something of him, here and there an anecdote, yet, during an acquaintance of fifteen years with him and many of his best friends, I have never met any one who knew much of his early life, or the incidents of his school-boy days, or of the beginning of his brilliant professional career. His public life the world knows by heart.

Yours, with regard.

MR. WEBSTER AT HOME—WELCOME.

MARSHFIELD, Oct. 3, 1842.

* * * Towards evening I arrived at this town, distant from Boston about thirty miles, in a south-east direction, and directly on the ocean. It is in

the old Plymouth Colony, chiefly occupied by the descendants of the Pilgrims, and is undoubtedly one of the most interesting places in the United States. Not being on any great thoroughfare, it is out of the way, and few have ever visited it. Here I found the residence—the country-seat—of Daniel Webster. I knew that he had a place in this region of the State, to which he fled occasionally from the toils of his public duties, and I supposed he had been indifferent as to the place chosen for his retirement. Repose, I conjectured, was his first object, and that, I presumed, he was enjoying in some little farm cottage, by the side of a bubbling brook, in some glen shaded by a mountain's brow, where he could think in solitude over the vast matters committed to his charge. But judge of my surprise, when I came round the brow of a hill and discovered instead of a little cottage by a brook, in a glen, an old and stately mansion, of ample dimensions, surrounded by aged elms, barns and sheds, the most prominent object in view, situated upon the shore of the ocean, where the walls of his garden are lashed by the waves, and where he may embark for any part of the world. In each direction from this point lay vast and fertile fields, in which I saw his "lowing herds and bleating flocks," on the right, and on the left I saw his harvest grounds, from which his abundant crops had been gathered, or were ripe for the sickle. I followed the main avenue which leads through his plantation towards Duxbury, till I had reached the meandering way that led to the door.

As I approached, I saw, through the surrounding

trees, the Secretary himself clad in his farming attire, with his hands clasped behind him (it being after the labors of the day were over), pacing his piazza to and fro with a quick step and cheerful countenance, apparently as regardless of conflicting opinions and the complaints made concerning his independent speech recently made at Faneuil Hall, as he was of the murmuring of the waves, which, while gently laving the beach, made music for his ears.

I need not tell you of the cordial manner in which I was welcomed, or how impossible it was to tear myself away after I had once crossed the threshold —or of the cheerfulness of the family circle which, during the evening, surrounded the crackling fire. To-morrow I am bidden to prepare for an expedition among the codfish and haddock with the renowned Seth Peterson; and, on the following day, Mr. Webster says "a stag must die."

Yours truly.

EARLY RISING—FRUITS AND OTHER PRODUCTS—COD FISHING—FISH HOUSE—SETH PETERSON—HOW TO MAKE CHOWDER.

MARSHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 4, 1842.

At an early hour this morning, Seth Peterson, who always knows which way the wind blows, and at what time precisely it will haul round to the east or to the south, gave notice at the mansion that this was to be a fine day for sport; that "the codfish and haddock were aching to be caught;" and for the benefit

of my particular and most excellent young friend, Mr. Edward Webster, whose guest I have the honor to be, he announced that the "coots"—a kind of duck—"would fly thick and low, and stop in the air to be shot." But neither Seth Peterson, nor any other man who comes after the break of day, can find Mr. Webster asleep. I remember to have heard him, some time ago, make this remark to a young friend, while impressing upon him the importance of early rising; "What little I have accomplished in my life has been done in the morning." Then he thinks, then he reads, and then he writes. His habit in this respect, is fixed; and when others begin theirs, his day's work is over.

Before the early breakfast of which all partook, with cheerful anticipations as to the sports of the day, he had planned and commenced all the business to be done. His apples, of which he has the finest quality and greatest variety, are carefully picked, each one from the tree by the hand, and stored in casks—some designed for England, some for Boston, some for New-York, some for Philadelphia, and some for almost all the cities along the shore of the Atlantic. Who does not want an apple produced here? His potatoes, too, which "can't be beat," and of which he had an enormous quantity, are dug and stored away, with a regard for their preservation and improvement, which demonstrates that nothing pertaining to their cultivation has escaped his reading, or has not been the subject of his thoughts and experiments. His onions, with which his gardens abound,

are also harvested, and one hundred and fifty bushels have been shipped to-day for Savannah.

These arrangements, and others of a similar character, touching his extensive farming operations being made, so that nothing in any department would suffer during his absence, we set forth just as the sun was apparently rising from the ocean, for the fish-house, which is on the south-east corner of his farm, distant nearly two miles. We drove a small white Canadian horse, with a switch tail, and a small, but comfortable wagon, built after the fashion peculiar to this section of the State, wide and stout, so that it will neither upset nor break down. Behind the seat we carried a little provender for the horse, and in a basket, a small ration of beef and bread for ourselves.

Arrived at the fish-house, we found Seth Peterson preparing for the sport. This establishment is a small, neat and safe building, erected at the end of a long lane, near the brink of a river which empties itself into the ocean, and forms a secure harbor for a variety of small craft; some owned by gentlemen who resort there for sport, and others by such good men as Seth Peterson, Seth Atwil, Capt. Weston, Tom Kent, and others, who engage in fishing and sporting occasionally, for the emoluments which they afford. In this building, Mr. Webster keeps his boats, and all the rigging which they require, together with at least half a dozen guns, some double barrelled, some single, some with large bore and some with small, intended for the various kinds of game found here at different seasons. While he is absent discharging his public duties, Seth Peterson keeps the key. Nothing

better than this could be contrived for security or comfort, and yet everything is as plain as you can find in the possession of the most unpretending citizen any where on the coast.

While Commodore Peterson was "rigging the float," and shipping the fishing tackle, we stood on the shore, viewing the stirring scene.

Other parties were at the same time preparing for an expedition similar to our own. I wish you could have been here to take a glance at the group as I saw it.

You would have seen foremost the great defender of the Constitution, in a field far different from that in which you are accustomed to view him. There was no "sea of upturned faces before him," to be agitated and made boisterous with enthusiasm as "his voice thundered and his countenance flashed forth the lightning of his genius;" but a real sea was before him, as calm and placid as you can conceive it to be, and from its surface the beams of the morning sun were reflected with uncommon splendor.

He was not dressed as a dignified statesman, waiting in his Department to receive the propositions of the British Plenipotentiary, for establishing and continuing the peace of the world, but in the simple garb of a fisherman, with his thick cow-hide boots reaching to his knees, and which, by the free application of melted tallow, were made water-proof. Over his frock-coat, which was buttoned up to his throat, he wore a sort of gray cloth or linsey-woolsey overcoat, which afforded ample protection against the chill of an October morning. On his head he wore

an otter cap of ancient date with an oval-shaped crown, having a wide frontispiece which shaded his brow and face.

If by "hook or by crook" I could have turned up the frontal of his cap, he would have appeared, with that coat and those boots, as he stood at one moment with his hand inserted in the breast of his overcoat—for all the world like Napoleon, as you have seen that great conqueror a thousand times represented in one of his standing attitudes. Nor was his brow overcast and dark with revolving thoughts, as if he were inditing to some foreign power a dispatch more potent than the sending forth of an army or a navy, and in some emergency which was "instant, overwhelming, and admitting of no delay;" but he was entirely unbent, and his face beamed with smiles, as he enjoyed the jokes of those around him. I have heard him in the Senate, which, when the Chamber was crowded "from pit to dome," has listened to him for hours with infinite instruction and delight, when he "lavished about him the opulence of intellectual wealth," and "showered down words of might and fire." I have seen him at the bar of the Supreme Court, when "he goes on hammering out link by link his chain of argument with ponderous blows." I have seen him before a vast multitude, when "all eyes were turned upon him, and breathless attention was the signal for his first accent;" when the enemies of his country awakened him, as if by the cry, "the Philistines are upon thee;" when the strength of his seven locks is felt," when he rises in his might and takes "the doors of the gates of the city, and the

two posts, bar and all, and removes them where he pleases;" but I have never seen him where his presence gave me higher gratification, or where those fine qualities which so distinctly adorn his nature, shone out with more brilliancy than when he was talking with those simple fishermen. * * *

All things being ready, we embarked, and were soon out of the harbor, upon the ocean, when the Commodore spread all sail, and away we sped before a gentle breeze, which had now sprung up, as if at Seth Peterson's bidding.

I ought now to say a word about him. You must know he is about forty-seven years of age, standing about five feet five inches in his boots; a stout, robust and hardy fisherman, not at all unused, however, to do any thing and almost every thing that is done on the land. His complexion is rather florid, his hair sandy, and his countenance indicates great frankness, integrity, fortitude, and a very large share of that rare article, good common sense.

He has a wife and eight or nine children; lives in a cottage not far off, and owns five or six acres of land, where he pastures his cows, feeds his pigs, and cultivates his potatoes and other garden vegetables. He almost always goes from his cottage to the boat-house across the lots, rarely taking the time required to go round by the common road; and so, when talking upon any subject, he goes directly to the point in view, without "hemming and hawing," or making use of surplus words, and every moment excites attention by the aptitude of his remarks. He was immortalized by Mr. Webster, in his speech, a few years ago,

at Saratoga; and, since then, the public have been anxious to see him, and know more about him; but he clings to his old and honest occupation, and his quiet home, unmindful of what the world at large says or thinks of his opinions.

The gallant little bark in which we were seated, under the guidance of Commodore Peterson, danced over the ripples of the sea, like a thing of life. The sensations produced were agreeable beyond my power to describe. The topics of conversation on the way were numerous and different; sometimes we talked upon important national questions, and, then descending, of the habits of the codfish and haddock, and many little incidents of similar excursions. The attention which I paid to the conversation almost annihilated time; so much so, that I thought I had but just embarked, when I was told we were eight miles at sea! The canvass was dropped, the hooks were baited, the lines thrown over, and we earnestly entered into the sport.

For about four hours we lay on the bosom of the ocean, now elevated above, and now depressed below, the plane of the surface, watching our lines, and, ever and anon, hauling in a cod or a haddock. Each victim caught was the signal or the occasion of some quaint remark, some scintillation of wit, or the utterance of some magnificent thought. Would to Heaven you and Charles Stetson had been there.

You doubtless remember the accounts of my delightful fishing excursions, in the brooks and rivers of the southern tier of counties of New-York, while making my pedestrian tour through that region, last

winter. Old Izaak Walton never enjoyed himself, in all his life, more than I did, on some of those occasions; but allow me to say that this fishing for cod and haddock on the ocean, under circumstances like these, is as much more exciting as the incidents of a spirit-stirring stag-hunt exceed the juvenile sport of entrapping mice.

When we became a little weary, under the excitement and toil, the Commodore hoisted sail, caught the breeze, and steered for Brandt Rock, in sight of Mr. Webster's house, on a point of land jutting into the sea, quite above high tide, and very famous for good shooting.

It is not an uncommon occurrence, when the ducks and other wild fowl are flying along the coast, to see twenty sportsmen on this rock, or in its vicinity, and the report of their guns reminds one of the *feu de joie* of a company of militia, on some joyful occasion. After a pleasant sail, "beating in," the wind blowing from the shore, we reached the rock, and joined in the sport. The prevailing birds to-day were "coots," some with red heads and white breasts, others dark all over. We shot them on the wing, and brought home as many as we desired.

At 3 o'clock we entered the little harbor, from which we had departed in the morning, our bark laden with fish and fowl, furnishing ample proof of skill, with both the line and the musket; ourselves delighted and invigorated by the exercise, and our appetites, notwithstanding the bread and beef, keenly set for dinner.

There is no dyspepsia incidental to such an ex-

cursion. I will venture the assertion that more can be done to repair the inroads upon one's health, made by too much application to books, business, or mental labor, in one day spent as this morning was, than by the idle monotony of a dozen days spent at Saratoga, or any other mere watering-place.

Landing at the fish-house, we found the Canadian pony and the jolting wagon ready to take us safely home, with ample materials for a first-rate chowder; and home we came, leaving Seth Peterson to haul ashore his float, and make all fast. He is a pattern of fidelity.

Here let me tell you how Mr. Webster says you must make a chowder:

1. Fry a large bit of well-salted pork in the kettle over the fire. Fry it thoroughly.

2. Pour in a sufficient quantity of water, and then put in the head and shoulders of a codfish, and a fine, well-dressed haddock, both recently caught.

3. Put in three or four good Irish potatoes, for which none better can be found than at Marshfield, and then boil them well together. An old fisherman generally puts in two or three onions.

4. When they are about done, throw in a few of the largest Boston crackers, and then apply the pepper and salt to suit the fancy.

Such a dish, smoking hot, placed before you, after a long morning spent in the most exhilarating sport, will make you no longer envy the gods.

Delicacy forbids that I should say a word, even to you, as to what passes at dinner, or around the cheerful fireside in an evening at this retreat; but if

you could see what I see, you would wonder that even patriotism, which burns in his bosom, or the highest sense of public duty, could draw him away from such a home, and from allurements which Cincinnatus himself would have envied.

The sun "made a golden set," indicating that to-morrow will be a fair day, and we go to our pillows with high anticipations of the sports in store. More anon.

Yours truly.

ANOTHER DAY AT MARSHFIELD—THE FARM—THE WINSLOWS—FORESTS—CATTLE—SHEEP—CROPS.

MARSHFIELD, October —, 1842.

When I wrote you last night, I expected to set out this morning for the Plymouth woods, as one of a hunting party, firmly resolved that "this day a stag must die." The time being fixed, word had been sent to Messrs. ——, who were to join us with their hounds near the field of sport, but a foreign mail having arrived, bringing important despatches, Mr. Webster is detained, and without him the rest of the party would not go.

The sport was, therefore, put off till to-morrow. A message to this effect was sent to those who were to join us; and I have spent a delightful and quiet day with my friend, Mr. Edward Webster, quite different from what I anticipated when I fell asleep last night. Not a gun has been fired, not a bird winged.

After breakfast, the weather being indescribably

fine, we set forth together for a stroll over the farm. The residence of my young friend for two or three years in England and on the Continent, in places where agriculture and horticulture have attained their greatest perfection, has enlarged his views, enriched his mind, and most eminently qualified him for the highest enjoyments as well as most valuable improvements, while, seeking relaxation from his studies, he spends a month or two on the plantation. * * *

The farm owned by the sage of Marshfield, embraces about thirteen hundred acres, and is bounded, as I told you in my letter night before last, on the ocean, where the waves at high tide dash against his walls, and throw their spray into his very garden. It is composed of a part of the old estate of Governor Winslow. and a part of the estate of Mr. Thomas, who was a wealthy refugee of the olden time. The Winslow Mansion, which was built one hundred and forty-seven years ago, is still standing on the premises, in a pretty good state of preservation, bearing, however, the visible marks of time. Edward Winslow was the most distinguished member of a family of eight children—five brothers and three sisters.

All the brothers came to New England. His name stands among the signers of that famous compact, into which the Pilgrims on board the *May Flower* entered, before they landed on the 11th of November, 1620, old style, and in which they declared they had "undertaken for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of their King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony, and for the better ordering and pre-

servation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, did covenant and combine themselves together into a civil body politic, and by virtue thereof to enact just and equal laws, ordinances," &c.

From the brief accounts I have seen of him, it appears that he was among the foremost in performing the daring exploits, which characterized the Pilgrims in their intercourse with the Indians of that day. He was one of the most energetic and trusted men in the colony. He went to England in 1623, 1624, 1635, and 1646, as agent of the Plymouth or Massachusetts Colonies; and in 1633 was chosen Governor, to which office he was re-elected in 1636 and 1644. He did not return to New England after 1646. In 1655 he was sent by Cromwell as one of the three commissioners to superintend the expedition against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and died at sea near Hispaniola, on the 8th of May, of that year, in his sixtieth year. In 1637 he obtained a grant of this tract of land, then called Green's Harbor, now Marshfield, to which he gave the name of Caresrull. The estate continued in the family till about ten years since, when it came in possession of Mr. Webster. Edward Winslow's son, Josiah, born at Plymouth in 1628, was Governor of the Colony from 1673 to his death in 1680. His last surviving male descendant, is Mr. Isaac Winslow, of Boston, who possesses original portraits of these his illustrious ancestors. The graves of all the Winslows are on the farm, and rude stones mark the place where

"Deep is the sleep of the brave,
And low their pillow of dust."

The following are some of the inscriptions on their tomb-stones.

"The Honble Josiah Winslow, Governor of New Plymouth, Died December ye 18th, 1680. *Ætatis* 73."

"The Hon. Isaac Winslow, Esq., Dyed December ye 14, 1738. *Ætatis* 67."

"Hon. John Winslow, Esq.,
Died April 17, 1774.
Ætatis 72."

Near this tomb are graves with stones on which we read the following inscriptions:

"Here lyes buried the body of
Captain Nathaniel Winslow,
Who died Dec. 1, 1719,
In the 81st year of his age."

"Here lies ye Body of Mr. Joseph Waterman, Junr. Died December the 23d, 1715, in the 39th year of his age."

"Deborah ye wife of Nathaniel Thomas, Esq. Deced. June ye 17th, 1791, in the 53d year of her age."

The other part of the farm remained in the Thomas family until about ten years ago, when Mr. Webster acquired what he now owns. On this part stands the old mansion house, built seventy-two years since, and from which some of the British soldiers marched to the battle of Bunker Hill. It is not improbable that in this very room the Colonel slept the night before he sallied forth. There are other houses of less note, but of ancient date, on the premises, besides numerous barns, sheds, and all the requisite out-houses for such a plantation.

Although the farm when found by the Pilgrims,

was, as they said, a "spit's depth, excellent black mould, and fat in some places; two or three great oaks, but not very thick, pines, walnuts, beech, ash, birch, hazel, holly, sassafras in abundance, and vines every where, cherry trees, plum trees, and many others which we know not. Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as strawberry leaves innumerable, sorrel, yarrow, carvel, brookline, liverworth, water cresses, great store of leeks and onions, and an excellent kind of flax and hemp. Here is sand, gravel, and excellent clay, no better in the world, except for pots, and will wash like soap, and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever we drank,"—yet time had materially changed its character, and ceaseless cultivation had worn it almost out. But during the ten years it has been under the hand of Mr. Webster, it seems to have been restored to its primitive productiveness.

A small part of the farm is what is called here a "Salt meadow," from which he gathers annually, a large quantity of hay for his young cattle. There are about three hundred acres of woodland, nearly two hundred of which have been planted by Mr. Webster himself, and are now in the most flourishing condition. Nothing can exceed the variety and beauty of the foliage of this young wilderness as I saw it to-day. There is near the house, a little hillock, which he found a barren sand-hill, blown about by the winds, but which is now covered with thrifty trees, embracing almost every kind known to the forests of this country.

On the apex of the hill he has erected a summer-

house, which, with the surrounding grove, forms one of the prettiest pictures I can imagine. He continues to plant trees, and, like the late Stephen Girard, "would plant a tree to-day though he were to die to-morrow." Before the door of the mansion stands an aged elm, which excites my veneration and receives his greatest care. Its branches reach to the ground, somewhat like those of a weeping-willow.

The diameter of the circle covered by the hanging boughs, measured from the tips on one side to the other, is eighty-six feet. Around the outside of the lawn and orchard, which are in the field with the mansion, he has planted a belt or circular grove, in which there is a carriage way or walk, in a warm day affording space for the most agreeable ramble. Throughout all these groves there are avenues where ladies may take an airing on horseback or a drive in a carriage without obtrusion. The day is not far distant when you will see the nimble deer bounding from side to side as in their native wilds.

His orchard is extensive, and there is no end to the variety of his apples, of which I spoke in a previous letter. To-day at dinner we drank Marshfield cider, which, having been bottled some time, is equal in goodness to more than half the champagne imported from abroad.

Adjacent to the house is a beautiful pond of fresh water, which fills up the back ground of the scenery, and produces an enchanting effect as one turns round to take a view of the whole. Not far off, in his poultry yard, is another pond, in which the ducks and geese, wild and tame, are sporting at all

hours of the day. In the raising of poultry, a business to which few farmers give much attention, the greatest pains have been taken, and the greatest skill has been displayed.

It costs no more, I find, to raise chickens—any one of which is as large as a common turkey—than it does to raise those of a meaner kind. It is quite curious to look into this yard and see the various sorts of fowls, brought hither from all quarters of the globe. Nothwithstanding the vast concerns which have crowded upon the owner's mind for the last ten years, none of these little things have escaped his attention. I have seen in the fields some seventy head of cattle, the finest I have seen for many a day. While in England, having a good opportunity, he selected from the best herds known in any of the counties, some of the most famous, and imported them, from which he is now producing, and has already produced the most valuable cattle in the United States.

I knew that a celebrated farmer at Ashland, Mr. Clay, had long devoted himself to this branch of business, and had justly become famous for his production; but I had no conception that I should find a rival to him in this respect so formidable as I have in the farmer at Marshfield.

He has a yoke of red or bay oxen raised on this farm, which in all points most admired by good judges, cannot be excelled, and especially in point of beauty. I saw another pair of black oxen grazing in the field, which in point of size, with the single exception of the one owned by Mr. Rust, surpass any

thing of the ox kind I have ever seen. His full blooded bulls and cows and young cattle are all fine specimens, and in good keeping with every thing else here. His sheep, too, excited my highest admiration. They are of the Leicester breed, selected and imported by himself, and are probably the finest blood and size of any in this country. One of them pointed out to me is not only the largest I ever saw, but in several other respects excels all the ideas I ever had of sheep.

The shepherd calls this one Goliah, and has taken from it one fleece which weighed sixteen pounds. This may have been beaten; but if so, the fact is not known to an individual so humble as myself. The greatest care is properly bestowed upon these flocks and herds, for they are truly objects worthy the ambition of any man, however exalted.

In going from one pasture to another, I passed through his fields of corn, of which he has raised this year, not less than nine hundred, or a thousand bushels. The seed selected must have been of the most valuable kind. I begged four ears of it, which I intend to carry away with me, and which I shall keep, till I can get a piece of land on which to plant it; and then I will call it the Webster corn.

I passed through a field of turnips, in which I estimated the quantity at two thousand bushels. A crop of this kind in England, Mr. Webster says, is regarded as of the utmost value, not only for the uses to which it is put, but because it does not impoverish the soil so much where it grows.

Of hay, I saw from three to five hundred tons,

and oats, and potatoes, and other crops, in equal proportions.

After going the rounds of the farm, which I have done with great satisfaction, it appeared to me that I had been attending an agricultural fair, so various, and so excellent, were the specimens I had seen. I mention these matters in detail, because you, like myself, may not have been acquainted with the allurements which have drawn Mr. Webster here, and of the extent of the operations which invite his attention as a farmer.

I have not, however, intended to mention any thing, which you or any body else may not know, or see, at any time, by passing along the avenues which lead through Marshfield. * * * * *

I hope nothing will occur to hinder our going to the Plymouth woods to-morrow. If fortune smiles, and we have the rare sport which we anticipate, you will hear from me again.

Yours truly.

RIDE TO PLYMOUTH—ANECDOTES ON THE WAY—MR. WEBSTER KILLS A DEER.

Plymouth Rock, Oct. 7, 1842.

At an early hour yesterday morning, we breakfasted at Marshfield, and then set out for this place. Not wishing to make known the object of our excursion, except to those who were to participate in our sport, we departed quietly, in a one-horse wagon, which contained all the apparatus required for our recreation.

The face of the Old Colony, and the villages through which we passed, appeared much like the route that I described from Hingham to Marshfield. Some of the farms are highly cultivated, but others are neglected and become almost barren. A farm, badly tilled, is to Mr. Webster, as it is to every good farmer, a forbidding object.

* * * * * * * * *

In this old Colony there is a vast district, nearly twenty miles square, well known as the Plymouth Woods. Within this district are a great number of ponds, from one to two hundred, and some of them, as for instance the Billington Sea, are quite large. Francis Billington, one of the pilgrims in the *Mayflower*, discovered this from the top of a tree on the hill, and it now bears his name. It is, as at first, embosomed in a wilderness. The eagle still soars over it, and builds in the branches of the surrounding forest. Here the loon cries, and leaves her eggs on the shore of the smaller island. Here, too, the beautiful wood-duck finds a sequestered retreat, and the fallow deer, mindful of their ancient haunts, still resort to it to drink and browse on its margin. They run in these woods, and in Wareham and Sandwich. In January, 1831, one hundred and sixty were killed, and forty taken alive. In February, 1839, a deer, chased by the dogs, ran into the streets of the village, and was caught in the front yard of Hon. N. M. Davis's house. This is the favorite resort of Mr. Webster when he desires to relax his mind, and to indulge in vigorous exercises, and nothing is more exciting than the incidents of these, his annual excursions.

Passing by the outlet to Murdock's Pond, which is about half a mile in the rear of Burial Hill, he was reminded of the story of John Goodman and Peter Brown, who in pursuit of the first deer of which we have any account in this country, lost their way and came near losing their lives. It was in January, 1621, a few days after their landing. The story is told as follows: "Going a little off they find a lake of water, and having a great mastiff with them and a spaniel, by the water side they found a great deer. The dogs chased him, and they followed so far as to lose themselves, and could not find their way back. They wandered all that afternoon, being wet, and at night it did freeze and snow. They were slenderly apparelled, and had no weapons, but each one his sickle, nor any victuals. They ranged up and down, and could find none of the savages' habitations. When it drew towards night they were much perplexed, for they could find neither harbor nor meat; but, in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the element their covering; and another thing did very much terrify them; they heard, as they thought, two lions roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third that they thought was very near them. So not knowing what to do, they resolved to climb up into a tree, as their safest refuge, though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging. So they stood at the tree's root, that when the lions came they might take their opportunity of climbing up. But it pleased God so to dispose that the beasts came not."

While in the enjoyment of the comfortable lodg-

ings we had last night, and perhaps on the very spot where the Pilgrims on that painful night were shivering with fright and cold, I could not but think how much more fortunate we were than they. Mr. Webster told another anecdote, which shows a strong contrast between the fortunes of some men and of others. After he had delivered his address at the centennial celebration on the 22d of December, 1820, the Pilgrim Society sat down to an elegant repast, where the company were served with the fat of the land, and the treasures of the sea. But to call to mind the distresses of their forefathers more vividly than words could express them, five kernels of parched corn were placed on each plate, as an allusion to a time in 1623, when that was the proportion allowed to each individual, on account of the scarcity of their provisions. If I should undertake to relate one-half of the anecdotes and interesting historical facts on which Mr. Webster is more than eloquent, being as he is on the hallowed ground where they occurred, I should write a volume, instead of the brief letter, for which I took up my pen; I must hasten to the incidents of our sport.

We approached with our horses and wagons as near as circumstances admitted, to the sequestered dells, and secret recesses of the timid deer, from which

> "He bursts the thicket, glances through glade,
> And plunges deep in the wildest woods."

Our first care was to secure our horses, and at the same time to insure to them the requisite attention during our absence. This done, our next

business was to equip ourselves for a tramp on foot. Waterproof boots, stout cloth pantaloons, and short coat for marching through the woods, climbing the hills or fording the smaller streams which constitute the outlet or inlet of the ponds, were just the articles required, and those we have. Our party consists of six, each one of whom has a good gun, plenty of powder and bullets, and buckshot, and all the little apparatus for convenience. The Pilgrims, I am told, used the old-fashioned matchlocks, instead of the percussion caps with which we are provided. Thus well accoutred we set forth "to hunt in couples." Mr. Webster and myself were together. The dogs we have are well trained, and are accustomed to chase in these woods. My dog Cato, which occasionally performed a conspicuous part in my hunting excursions last autumn, is not up to the business of following bucks and does in these parts, and is, therefore, compelled to follow close at my heels, and has performed no higher office than bringing to the shore a duck or two, which, being shot on the wing, fell into the water. The party "let slip the dogs," and then separated, with an understanding as to the place where they should meet, and as to certain signals which should be given in case any thing remarkable should happen. Mr. Webster and myself, after making our way for some distance through a trackless thicket, at length came to a path not often trodden, but following it, we were led to the shore of a good-sized pond of water, which in England or Scotland would probably be called a lake, and long since would have been the burden of some immortal song.

On a sunny side of a small hillock, which rose gradually from the shore of this pond, we made a stand, to await the approach of the deer, and to watch the result of the chase, into which the dogs had now entered with hearty good will; believing that the very path which led us there, would be the one the game would pursue, if found in that neighborhood, and routed by the dogs; in which respect we were not mistaken. We sat down on a rock, for a rapid walk of considerable distance, carrying our rifles, had made a moment's rest agreeable to our legs. * * * *

The time drew near to four o'clock, and the dogs had gone around a large circle. Of course, we were wide awake, and on the sharp look-out. The sensations I felt were those that excited me when I shot the deer running in the centre of the Delaware river, of which I gave you an account. But Mr. Webster was as cool and as self-possessed as when he rose to reply to Senator Hayne, of South Carolina. He stood erect, where he had a full view of the path that lay before him, along the foot of the hill, at the water's edge, for nearly a hundred rods—with his eyes piercing the thicket to catch a glimpse of the first motion of a twig. He held his rifle across his breast, ready to take fatal aim. I stood partly behind, ready to fire, if there should be any object to shoot at, or if there should be any occasion for it, after he had done his part. The dogs were rapidly approaching. Expectation was on tip-toe. At this moment, and at the distance of some eighty or a hundred rods from us, partly across the circle of the shore, and just at the water's edge, he saw a deer, and

then another, and then another. His ejaculations instantly directed my attention to the spot. Two of them dashed into the water, and plunged in their noses to drink; but the animals being routed by the hounds, and of course frantic with fear, they had no inclination to stand still. * * * * * * *

A fine buck led the van, gallantly throwing back his antlers, as if he said, "Overtake me if you can." But when he approached within about thirty rods, he met something whose speed exceeded the speed of his pursuers. Mr. Webster, with his usual unerring aim, had lodged in his vitals a fatal bullet, and the stag lay bleeding on the path, unconscious of what had struck him. The smoke and report of the gun changed the direction of the other deer, and away they went, "over the hills and far away." I fired upon them, but without effect. The dogs came "in at the death," in handsome style, and no man could enjoy a triumph with more satisfaction, and with more enthusiastic feeling, than we did our success on this occasion. Say what you will of stoicism, philosophy, of dignity, and all that sort of thing, I can tell you there is no man, however exalted, who will not sometimes unbend himself, and feel and act as though he was yet in his youth. Nor is this wrong; and I pity the man who cannot find in his own bosom a sentiment which will occasionally approve of such an exuberant feeling. * * * * * * * * *

Yours, truly.

VISIT OF GENERAL BERTRAND TO MR. WEBSTER—MR. WEBSTER'S CONVERSATION ON AGRICULTURE.

BOSTON, Nov. 22, 1343.

On Saturday morning, General Bertrand took breakfast with Mrs. Webster, by invitation, at her lodging at the Tremont House. Mr. Webster himself, who was absent the previous day, happily returned in time to be present. Mrs. Appleton, his daughter, Mrs. Fletcher Webster, his daughter-in-law, and Mrs. Page, his sister-in-law, were there. Although the number present was not large, yet it was not strictly private, but was intended as one of the evidences of public regard so generally manifested.

Among the guests were Mr. Choate, of the United States Senate, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, Mr. Ticknor, Mrs. Gray, Mr. Lathrop Appleton, Mr. Codman, Mr. Grattan, and others of great respectability.

At 10 o'clock, General Bertrand, accompanied by his secretary, was announced, and after presenting himself in the most courteous manner to Mrs. Webster, was introduced to the great man himself, to see whom was the great object of his visit here. I was pleased with the interview between these two distinguished persons. The self-possession and dignity of Mr. Webster were conspicuous here as well as everywhere else, but the kind manner in which he received his guest, and the appropriate words which he addressed to him, not only relieved him from all embarrassment, but went home to the heart of the faithful old general, and made him feel, as I have since

had reason to know he did feel, that great as were his expectations, Mr. Webster did not fall below the estimation which he had formed before he saw him.

The general was presented to each of the ladies and the other guests respectively, and entered into conversation with them upon a variety of topics, which was cheerful, and was kept up until breakfast was announced. The table was spread with an American breakfast; not French, not English, but good New England. I need not add that every body present was made happy, for all this will be taken for granted.

There is no entertainment which is estimated higher than a complimentary breakfast. There is necessarily so little ceremony; it comes before the cares and business of the day have knit the brows, perplexed the minds, or disturbed the tempers of the guests; the conversation, especially of men like those present upon this occasion, is always particularly brilliant and sparkling with well-timed repartees. I remember with the greatest pleasure the breakfast which Mrs. Webster gave to Lord Morpeth, and also the one to Lord Ashburton, at Washington. They were so unlike a formal dinner, where the guests, no matter how well-bred, always feel, or appear to feel, the cumbrous weight of the ceremonies which etiquette requires. Mr. Otis, it seems—on account of the illness with which he is afflicted—had the evening before, in a note to Mrs. Webster, expressed a doubt whether he should be able to take his breakfast with her; but the bright morning sun induced him to

come out, and he was presented to the General at table. He speaks French fluently, and is, without exception, the most finished gentleman in this country, so that nothing could be more pleasing than the interview between these "fine old gentlemen." Their salutations, the affectionate manner in which they inquired after each other's health, the mutual congratulations, all indicated the circles in which they moved.

Some of the guests had seen the Emperor Napoleon, when his star and eagles were in the ascendant, and, of course, had seen some of the occasions on which the General had been conspicuous,—there was, therefore, no want of topics of conversation to interest him. He appeared also to fancy Mr. Ticknor, and to be deeply interested in the conversation which he had with that gentleman, so justly distinguished, as he is, for his intelligence and learning.

I question whether among all the entertainments the General has had in this country, ostentatious or unostentatious, any has been more gratifying to his feelings than this; at least I have his own testimony that none has pleased him more. By 12 o'clock, the hour in which the business and pleasures of the day begin here, at this season, the guests had made their parting "adieux," and had separated.

I must not omit to tell you an anecdote, which was related to me by a lady at the breakfast, and which shows the care and kindness of the General in making people happy whenever an opportunity is presented. At a party given by the British Consul on the previous evening, Bertrand was a guest, Madame

Cinti Damoreau, Monsieur Artot, and others distinguished in the musical world, were also there. In the early part of the evening one of the many beautiful young ladies present was induced to sing and play on the piano, notwithstanding the presence of persons so celebrated.

Her music was sweet, and, of course, was much admired. But soon the "Italian Aria" of Cinti Damoreau, and the "Tremole Caprice" of Artot, and the "Duo Concertante" of both, had absorbed the attention of the party, and the sweet and unpretending notes of the young lady who had ventured to precede them, were for a moment forgotten. Seeing this, the gallant Bertrand asked to be especially introduced to her, which was done, and then he addressed to her the most appropriate commendations on her performance, and in the most admirable manner contrived to do away entirely the effect of any contrast which appeared to have been made between her music and that of those who followed.

Attentions of this nature speak volumes, and in some way take a deep hold of my feelings, and I thought the anecdote would interest you, knowing you would make no improper use of it. If I write any thing to you which ought not to be published, I leave it to your better experience to strike out.

This Boston is a great place. I have now been here about a week, and have not taken any meals at home but once. The hospitality of the citizens of Boston is unbounded.

Yours, truly.

SECOND VISIT TO MARSHFIELD—MR. WEBSTER TALKS OF AGRICULTURE.

MARSHFIELD, Nov. 27, 1843.

Leaving Boston I came through the town of Quincy, the residence of John Quincy Adams, and the township of Weymouth, in which are several villages, all more or less engaged in the shoemaking business. This route is different from the one taken by me last year. Proceeding along the Plymouth road, through Scituate and Hanover, I arrived at the little town of Pembroke, and here the road to this place turns directly into a wilderness of pines. This pine tract seems to extend eight or ten miles north and south, and its eastern limit is within two miles of the sea, and of Mr. Webster's house. It may be worthy of remark, that directly on the sea-shore, the land is stony, rock, and bearing hard wood, while behind it a large tract of pine land, cleared or uncleared, stretches away to Plymouth road.

Over this district of country I passed rapidly, following the windings of the road to the home of the farmer of Marshfield. As I approached this hospitable mansion, in the avenue leading to the house, I met Mr. Webster, rejoicing in his temporary freedom from the severe labors of the legal profession to which he had been devoting himself nights and days, since he retired from the office of Secretary of State.

He informed me of the absence of his son. "But, sir," said he, "I know he will be glad to see you, and you must stay till Edward comes home."

He gave me a hearty welcome to his house, and to whatever he had, that could amuse, or would interest me in any manner. His kindness, as on all former occasions, soon made me feel perfectly at home. I had arrived just in time for dinner.

A dish of chowder, such as is eaten nowhere else on the face of the globe, and corned beef, cured as every farmer should know how to cure it, with Marshfield potatoes, and other vegetables, constituted our well-relished repast.

When at home and on his farm, there is no topic on which Mr. Webster delights to dwell so much as agriculture. The affairs of nations, with which he is so familiar; the important questions which fill his mind when engaged in his profession, questions on the decision of which millions depend, are all apparently left behind when he crosses the line which separates his plantation from his neighbors.

Our conversation at dinner, therefore, was principally on agriculture. He spoke of the pleasure he enjoyed in its pursuit, and of his public speeches and efforts he had made to commend it to the favor of his countrymen. He said he regarded that as the leading interest of society; and as having in all its relations the most direct and intimate bearing upon human comfort and the national prosperity, of any to which men give their attention. "Agriculture," he said, "feeds us; to a great degree it clothes us; without it we could not have manufactures, and we should not have commerce. These all stand together, but they stand like pillars in a cluster, the largest in the centre, and that largest is agriculture."

Although the duties of his profession, and the public services which the partiality of his fellow-citizens had required him to perform, had necessarily occupied much of his time, he had been familiar with the operations of agriculture in his youth, for he was a farmer's son, and he had always looked upon the subject with a lively and deep interest, both in public and private life. There is, said he, no subject which opens a wider field for study, nor is there one more congenial to my feelings. I delight to talk to my neighbors about farming, and I love to vie with them about cultivating my fields, and in making my farm as productive as theirs."

His visit to Europe in 1839 had given him a favorable opportunity of seeing the improved husbandry of England, and he derived what benefit from it he could; for, said he, the great objects of agriculture and the great agricultural products of Old England and New England are the same.

Neither country produces olives, rice, or cotton, or sugar-cane; but bread, meat, and clothing are the main productions of both, and knowing that the example of England might safely be followed, as far as the circumstances of the one country corresponded with those of the other, he had adopted and carried into practice many modes of culture on his farm here, and in New Hampshire, which he had seen successfully adopted while he was abroad. He spoke with much animation of the efforts made by farmers throughout this whole country, to improve their condition. We ought to be, he said, in this respect, the first nation in the world. England is regarded as a

prodigy of agricultural wealth. Flanders might surpass it; he had not seen Flanders; England surpassed any country he had seen. But he hoped the day would soon come, when this country would bear off the palm. Let us remember, he said, that this is a country of small farms, and freehold tenements; in which men cultivate with their own hands, their own fee simple acres, drawing not only their subsistence, but also their spirit of independence and manly freedom from the ground they plough. They are at once its owners, its cultivators, and its defenders; he hoped the cultivation of the earth would never cease to be regarded as the most important labor of man.

Walking out after dinner, I was struck with the thrifty growth of several little forests of oak, maple, and walnut, especially on that part of the estate which originally belonged to the Winslow family. * *

Upon my making inquiries concerning these forests, Mr. Webster told me that they had been periodically cut down, and that this had happened once since the death of the last Winslow proprietor. It has been thought profitable, he said, to take off the wood once in about eighteen years, not selecting the larger trees, but clearing the whole over a given extent. New shrubs immediately spring up and cover the nakedness of the land, growing sometimes as much as seven or eight feet in a single year. This practice, he said, prevailed over most of the great tracts of woodland in the County of Plymouth. It was found to be the best use that the land could be put to. Its price in various parts of the country ranges from two to five dollars an acre. In some cases, large tracts

are held by single individuals. The late Barnabas Hedge, of Plymouth, he said, could travel ten or twelve miles through such woodlands, without going off his own soil. But the great danger to such property, Mr. Webster observed, was from fire. Hardly a year passed without much destruction by this element, in the woods of Sandwich, Barnstable, Wareham, Plymouth, &c. The wood cut from these forests is valuable, and commands a high price; as it is hard, sound, round, and of convenient size.

Can you not now see, in imagination, one of these hickory fires, on a cold, frosty morning, or on a chilly autumn evening—such a one as now burns brightly on the hearth before me! I think it requires no great stretch. Mr. Webster said it was now fourteen or fifteen years since any wood had been cut on this farm, except for the use of the family. In some of the lower grounds, the trees have been suffered to grow longer, and the thickets to remain undisturbed. I noticed maples and oaks, some of them quite tall, and a foot or more in diameter. To these circumstances, no doubt, it is owing that the deer still remain tolerably numerous in the township of Plymouth. I gave an account of these deer in my letters to you last year. They delight, said Mr. Webster, to feed on the leaves and sprouts of young thrifty trees. The laws of Massachusetts properly restrain the killing of these animals in certain seasons of the year; but there are still wretches, said Mr. Webster, who will steal into the woods in the middle of winter, find the deer in the deep snows, and kill them merely for the sake of their skins, which would

not bring more than, perhaps, a dollar apiece. Of these woods, Mr. Webster has about two hundred acres, from which cattle and sheep are carefully excluded, and which, if fenced as in England, and in some places in this country, would make an elegant deer park.

The sun went down upon us, while we were rambling and conversing upon these and kindred topics; we returned home to enjoy, and have enjoyed, the comforts of a quiet evening around a farmer's fire.

Yours truly.

PLANTING TREES.

MARSHFIELD, Nov. 28th, 1843.

I needed no cradle to rock me to sleep last night, after my long walk of yesterday. After breakfast this morning, I was out again with Mr. Webster, who was giving his attention to several matters concerning his farm. Seeing the interest I manifested yesterday on the subject of the forest, which is periodically cut down for wood, and suffered to grow up again, he was kind enough to show me vast numbers of trees, probably one hundred thousand, which he has planted from the seed, with his own hands. They are, however, yet small. He said, his way had been to sow the seed, in favorable places, of the locust, horse-chestnut, catalpa, &c., some of which have been transplanted at an early age, and others left to grow up in thickets. A little belt of wood thus produced, none of the trees of which have been planted more than a dozen or thirteen years, bounding the lawn

and pond on one side, is already so high and dense as to afford a perfectly shaded walk through the centre of it, not only making a beautiful promenade, but filling up the background of the landscape, of which the lawn and pond constitute prominent features.

Mr. Webster spoke in warm terms—terms almost of indignation—of the stupidity of persons who omit to plant trees, from an idea that they may not live to see their growth and beauty, or to taste their fruits. He reminded me of Walter Scott's good advice on this subject. He would plant a tree which would be growing while others were sleeping.

He spoke of the just and excellent taste of Sir Walter Scott, on all subjects of this kind, and referred to two articles written for the London *Quarterly Review*, some years ago, on planting trees, landscape, &c., as being full of instruction. Where is the man, said Mr. Webster, who does not admire the principle which actuated the late Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, who, when bending over the grave with age, said he would plant a tree to-day if he knew he were to die to-morrow. If every man were actuated by such sentiments, what a change it would produce in the affairs of the world.

He showed me eight or nine specimens of oak; several of them he had obtained from the Southern States; all the varieties of pines and cedars, and the arbor vitæ, from Maine, various sorts of ash, maple and the buckeye, from Ohio, and the sweet gum from Virginia.

For these last two, however, the climate was found somewhat too severe. The whitewood, as we call it,

in New-York and Ohio—properly the liriodendron or tulip tree—appears to grow well. Hedges of buckthorn line the avenue to the house, stand the climate well, and are very handsome.

In a few years these trees, according to my prediction, will be the admiration of everybody, and branches of them will be cut and carried away by future generations, who will know the biography of the great man of our time, as branches are now cut and carried away from the trees which grow on the plantations of other sages, whose pillars are in the dust. The handsome wooden eminence, near the house, is now beautifully covered with a thicket of locust, catalpas, young cherry trees, &c. This little hill, twelve years ago, was perfectly naked, and the sand was blown about by the wind. A lady, visiting Mrs. Webster, begged that so unsightly an object might be made to mend its appearance. Her advice was followed, and six years afterwards, visiting Marshfield again, she clapped her hands with admiration at the success of what she had recommended.

Mr. Webster spoke of his unsuccessful attempts to raise the live oak, and this led to a conversation on climate which occupied the remainder of our morning ramble; but of which I shall try to remember and speak hereafter.

I believe in my letters of last year, I gave you some account of the general appearance of the farm and of the neighboring country. I do not intend to repeat what I said then, but an occurrence induces me to return to that topic once more. N. S., Esq., a gentleman of Cincinnati, an old friend and townsman

of Mr. Webster, made him a long visit last September. I fell in with him on his return, and he spoke to me with admiration of what he had seen. He said they had an idea in the West, that Mr. Webster had a place on the sea-shore, and as he always spoke of it himself as "a poor farm," they thought it to be that and nothing more. They thought it a place of no product, but a spot from which he might go forth to catch a fish or shoot a bird. And I may here remark, that such is, or has been, the general impression throughout the country. In his great speech at Rochester, you know he said himself: "Why gentmen, I live on the sandy sea-shore of Massachusetts, and get along as well as I can. I am a poor farmer, upon a great quantity of poor land; but my neighbors and I, by very great care,—I hardly know how,—contrive to live on." Mr. Webster gave me notes of his speech, and referred to his printed speech. But Mr. N. S. said he was himself a grazier on a large scale, that he pastured five thousand acres of land in the heart of Ohio, and that he had seen in Marshfield as thrifty cattle as he had at home, and as rich herbage (the consequences of fish manure) as any he could furnish for his own stock; and he added with animation, that the whole view reminded him strongly of a prairie country—not indeed in the depth and richness of the soil, but in the gentle risings and undulations of the surface, the rankness of the grass, and especially the melting away of the horizon upon the sea-shore, as one sees it sink in the western country on boundless plains. Whoever has seen it set on the

western lakes, can appreciate the idea which I wish to convey.

It is all very true that Mr. Webster can go forth from this place "to catch a fish, or shoot a bird," and the opportunities for both, as I have had occasion to know are second to those of no other; but let it be understood, that these are not the only objects for which he seeks this retirement. And it is equally true that he has a sandy soil, and that time and neglect had done their utmost to make it a poor farm before he came here; but by the application of science, by studying the nature of the soil, by bestowing continued attention upon the subject for ten or twelve years, keeping pace with all improvements, he has restored parts of his farm to their wonted vigor; and the result is, that I see some fields capable of vying with the richest of the Genessee flats. If you wait till Mr. Webster tells you he has a good farm,—and is in fact, by the force of example, doing more for the benefit of agriculture, than all the preachers on that subject in the United States,—you will wait till the crack of doom.

After dinner to-day we went into the building Mr. Webster has erected in his garden, and has filled with books on this subject. There the conversation turned on the state of agriculture in England fifty years ago, as compared to what it is now. Then, said Mr. Webster, and he referred to the chapter and verse to show it, the practice of this art was comparatively cumbrous, costly and unproductive. It had not become an object of inquiry to men of liberal minds; it was left to be carried on by the common farmer, in a mechanical way, according to the unimproved rou-

tine of his forefathers. The number of laboring cattle, both horses and oxen, employed on a farm, was excessive; manure was very carelessly collected, the green crops were not generally hoed, and artificial grasses were not generally known. The management of cattle was generally so bad, that Mr. Young conceived "that two pounds were lost upon every cow; while sheep might have generally yielded a greater profit by three-fourths, and the management of swine was perfectly execrable." In the general economy of the country, neglect of inclosure prevailed; a large extent consisted of commons covered with miserable herds which the neighborhood turned out to pasture; and a great part of the eastern coast, consisting of fens and marshes, was unhealthy and unfit for cultivation.

Mr. Webster called my attention to the observations of different writers, stated where he agreed with some and differed from others. I have taken numerous extracts because what he endorses may be relied on as good authority.

Since the time of which he was speaking a complete change has taken place in all these respects. The greatest nobles and statesmen have vied with each other in their zeal for the promotion of agriculture. Prizes, exhibitions, and other institutions calculated to excite a spirit of improvement, have been established on a great scale. Even royal patronage was extended to this most useful of arts, and a Board was formed under public auspices for its promotion. An extraordinary impulse was also given by the scarcity at the close of the eighteenth century, when the

continental ports were closed, and grain rose to an unprecedented price—from which it has since been reduced, but not to its former rate. The old routine system was after that crisis broken up, and every exertion made to augment the products of the soil. Commons were inclosed, marshes were drained, grasses of the most useful species cultivated, and every process introduced that multiplied experiments had proved to be advantageous.

About twenty years ago, said Mr. Webster, Sir Humphrey Davy undertook to treat the subject of the application of chemical knowledge to agriculture in England, in the analysis of soils and manures, and the extraordinary discoveries and advances in chemical science, since his time, have operated, and are likely to operate greatly to the advantage of agriculture, not only in England but throughout the world. * * * *

I am tired with walking, talking and writing, and now my word for it, in twenty minutes I will be fast asleep.

Yours truly.

HABIT OF EARLY RISING—MR. WEBSTER STILL TALKS OF AGRICULTURE.

MARSHFIELD, Nov. 29, 1843.

In imitation of all the Sykeses, I like the indulgence of a morning nap. My father slept sound, and my mother slept long, and I do both. When I came to breakfast I found that Mr. Webster had been up

several hours, writing by candle light in his study. He said his correspondence and other writing for the day were finished, and that he was quite at leisure, and ready to accompany me anywhere.

Mr. Webster, unlike most of the men of the present day, goes early to bed, and sleeps during the first part of the night. By 9 o'clock, unless the presence of company or some pressing engagement has induced him to remain longer in the parlor, he is found in a sound sleep. But he rises very early in the morning. I have heard him say there have been periods while in Washington, when he has shaved and dressed himself for six months together by candle light. The morning is his time for study, writing, thinking, and all kinds of mental labor; from the time when the first streak of dawn is seen in the east, till 9 or 10 o'clock in the forenoon, scarcely a moment is lost; and it is then that the mighty results which distinguish his life are produced.

I have often heard those who occasionally call on him, as early as 10 in the morning, and find him apparently unoccupied, ready to converse with them and very much at their service, wonder when Mr. Webster does his work, for they know he does work, and yet they rarely, if ever, see him, like other business men, engaged.

The truth is, that when their day's work begins, his ends; and while they are indulging in their "glorious morning nap," dozing or yawning, he is up, looking "quite through the deeds of men." This habit, followed from his youth, has enabled him to make those vast acquisitions of knowledge on all subjects,

which have rendered him superior to other men, and has at the same time afforded him so much leisure to devote to his friends.

Mr. Webster regretted this morning that my friend Edward was not at home, but he offered me Rachel, a favorite setter which he brought from England, and the services of an attendant, if I chose to go out and shoot quails, with one restriction however, that several broods of these birds had been reared during the season in the gardens and grounds near the house; that those belonged to the family, and were not to be destroyed. But my thoughts turned rather upon agriculture than shooting, so I declined Rachel's company and the gun, and we walked out in the fields together. One of the first we passed was such a field, I presume, as had attracted the notice of Mr. S. from Ohio. It had been an old dry pasture which the plough had not touched for forty years; it usually had produced, Mr. Webster said, in the spring and early summer, a little white honey-suckle and other sweet grass for the use of the dairy, but by midsummer it was commonly dry, parched and brown; now it was covered with herbage, green, long, fallen down, and absolutely matted from thickness, although it had been the pasture for half a dozen cows. This led to a conversation on the utility of manuring land by fish when circumstances and situations allowed it.

Mr. Webster said his attention had first been drawn to the subject, by seeing the practice in Rhode Island. He had subsequently seen prodigious effects from it, on some parts of Long Island, especially about Southampton. He had seen its use also at

Chatham, and other places on the extremities of Cape Cod. He observed, that whether it could be obtained or used for a reasonable price, depended, first on the nearness of the land to the sea; secondly, on the general state of the weather during the time when the fish usually visit the coast. These fish are a species of herring not known in Europe, and called in the United States by the various names of moss-bunkers, hard-heads, bony fish, and menhaden. In the Summer they migrate North, and are off Marshfield sometimes by the middle of June, and sometimes not till July. When the weather is mild, and the sea smooth, they come close to the shore, or into the mouths of the rivers and little creeks, and sometimes, indeed, they appear to be driven almost out of the water by the sharks and porpoises, which follow them in from the sea. They are taken, he said, by the seine, in the common way, drawn to the shore, and hauled off immediately to their destined use.

Until this year, he says, he has only used these fish by spreading them directly on the surface of the land, and as he does not hold to manuring by halves, the quantity is not spared. Ten, twelve, or fourteen cart loads, each weighing twenty-six or twenty-seven hundred, are allowed to the acre. There has been a notion prevailing to some extent, that this species of manure stimulates the land too much, and soon exhausts it. In refutation of this notion, Mr. Webster showed me a field which was thus dressed in 1834, and which has yielded an abundant crop of hay every year since. This year twenty acres have been heavily

fished, and the fish ploughed immediately in, and the land is destined for corn next season.

A great mass of compost is also made by mixing earth or common loam with fish, in the proportion of about four loads of earth to one of the fish, and putting in lime as another ingredient. This being done in the Summer, the whole mass is dug up or turned over, and mixed anew in the Autumn or Winter, and in the ensuing Spring it is found an excellent manure for any farming purpose whatever. His gardens, meadows, pastures and ploughed lands all bear abundant proof of the utility of this species of manure.

On my way down here, I had a rather diverting as well as instructing conversation with a farmer whom I met in Pembroke, and I may as well mention it here, as anywhere. I told him I was going to Marshfield, and he said he supposed I was going to see Squire Webster. I told him I was going to see Edward, his son. "Well," said he, "you will of course see the Squire's farm." I told him quite likely. "Well," said he, "you will see something worth seeing; but I did not know, two months ago, but that he would drive us all out of Pembroke. The Squire spreads on his land, in the summer, about all the fish, I believe, he can find in the sea, and get out of it. These bred a pestilent quantity of black flies, not our common house flies, but black, glossy fellows, that came about two hundred times as thick as you ever saw common flies about a plate of molasses. When the wind is east, it brings them here, and they remind us of Scripture times and the plagues of

Egypt; however, they don't trouble us long; for when the wind changes, they make off for Cape Cod.

"I go down to see Mr. Webster's place very often. I worked on his farm this year some time, but I could never get there before the Squire was up and stirring. The Squire not only uses fish on his farm, but has introduced, also, the use of kelp from the sea-shore. This was totally neglected till he set the example. While at Marshfield, I advise you to look at the farms of Capt. H. and Capt. J. S., two of Mr. Webster's neighbors. They are industrious sea-captains, now retired to their farms; are always at home, and see to every thing. Congress does not trouble them, and kelp is filling up their barns right fast, I tell you, and no mistake."

Thus, you see, the example of Mr. Webster is followed by his neighbors, and it excites them to emulate him, greatly to their advantage. There are but few farmers in the United States, well skilled and greatly experienced as they are justly acknowledged to be, who would not derive great advantage from a journey to Marshfield, to walk over this plantation, and hold a few hours' conversation with the great farmer himself.

George says "dinner is ready." Of course I shall throw down the pen.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER STILL TALKS ABOUT AGRICULTURE—SAYS SIR ROBERT PEEL IS THE GREATEST MAN HE EVER SAW.

MARSHFIELD, Nov. 29, 1843.

In my letter this morning I gave you some account of the conversation with Mr. Webster, as we were passing over fields manured with fish; for it struck me as being a subject that could not fail to interest you. At dinner to-day Mr. Webster conversed on another subject akin to that, and equally important. It was the rotation of crops, or, as it is called, the shift system, to prevent the exhaustion of the land.

I remarked to him, that in passing over the farm this morning, I did not find in any field the same kind of crop which I saw in it last year. He said that was very true, for he had always been careful to avoid that great error. "A good farmer"—and this is the definition which others give too, said he—"looks not only to the present year's crop, but considers what will be the condition of his land when this crop is taken off, and what it will be fit for next year. He carefully examines the nature of the soil and the peculiarity of the last crop, and as much as possible studies to use his land so as not to abuse it." "It is my aim," he said, "to get a good crop every year, and in such a manner that the land shall be growing better and better." If he should plant the same crop continually, the soil of many of his fields would soon be exhausted, or if he contented himself with raising a large crop this year, and then should leave the field neglected to recruit itself as it might, he

should starve, and his farm would soon be a barren waste. By adopting the shift system, and pursuing a judicious rotation of crops, he not only made his farm profitable and productive, but by the addition of appropriate manures annually, he had managed to reclaim a great part of it, and make it what I saw; and this practice he intends to continue until it is all made fertile. "It is upon this fundamental idea of constant production without exhaustion," he said, "that the system of all good cultivation is founded. England adopts this course, and England was taught by Flanders and Italy."

"The form or manner of this rotation of crops is determined by me, according to the nature of the soil, and partly by the demand of the home market." The ordinary rotation under which lands similar to his are cultivated in England, as far as his observation had extended, and as laid down in the agricultural books, is either on what is denominated the four-course or shift system, or five-course or shift. The four-course was: 1. Turnips, fed off; 2. Oats or Barley; 3. Grass Seed; 4. Wheat. The five-shift system was: 1. Turnips; 2. Oats or Barley; 3. Clover; 4. Peas; 5. Wheat. On different soils the courses were varied. Sometimes this system was carried to nine shifts, the largest course with which he was acquainted. He referred me to a good writer on this subject.

He said he divided all crops into two classes, and denominated one white, the other green. White crops, such as wheat, barley, rye, oats, and corn, are not to follow one another. But this was not the rule

with green crops, such as turnips, potatoes, beets and clover. He described the apparatus for analyzing the soils, and the mode of ascertaining the nature, the properties and proportions of the different materials of which they are composed, with as much fluency as though the study of agricultural chemistry had been the pursuit of his life. He said, it was well for me to know that the chief constituents of all cultivated soils were four kinds of earth, and these were flint, clay, chalk, and carbonate of magnesia decomposed. "These," said he, "are mixed together in an endless variety of proportions, and are interspersed with animal and vegetable remains, salts, &c., to an equally varying extent; and it is to ascertain the presence and extent of these substances, that the analysis of soils is so necessary and so valuable to the farmer. Without some knowledge and practice on this subject, a farmer proceeds in the dark. How can he tell what kind of manure he should apply, without knowing what is wanted?" "The object of manuring," said he, "is to give strength to that ingredient in the soil which is weak."

After dinner we put on our overcoats and took a stroll across the fields to see his cattle, the products of his selections and importations from England in 1839. But I shall speak of them hereafter. In our rambles we came to a field of turnips, where he has raised this year more than two thousand bushels. "Here," said Mr. Webster, "is a specimen on a small scale, of the green crop of England. I say on a small scale, because on the other side of the water there are fields or farms of five or six hundred acres covered

with this crop. Its cultivation has, within the last fifty years, revolutionized English agriculture. Fifty years ago, when lands were exhausted by the repetition of grain crops, they were left fallow, and abandoned to recruit themselves. This occurred as often as every fourth year, so that it was the same as though one quarter of the lands capable of good cultivation yielded nothing. But turnips were now substituted in the place of these naked fallows, and were generally fed off on the land where they grew." "It is," said he, "a biennial plant; does not perfect its seed before it is consumed, and does not materially exhaust the soil; for exhaustion of the land, as experience and observation have fully demonstrated, takes place mainly when the seeds of the plants are allowed to perfect themselves. Besides, plants derive a large portion of their nutriment from the air; now the leaves of turnips, which are their lungs, expose a wide surface to the atmosphere, and thence derive their subsistence and nutriment. The broad leaves likewise shade the ground, preserve its moisture, and in some measure prevent its exhaustion by the rain." "In one way and another, turnips give to the land almost as much as they take from it. But turnips have a further and ultimate use; they feed and sustain animals, from which come our meat and clothing.

The great inquiry then should be, what kind of crops will least exhaust the soil, and at the same time furnish support to the greatest number of animals. He knew of no crop more valuable on all accounts than the turnip, and he was happy to believe that the farmers in this country, as well as in England, Flan-

ders and Italy, were not ignorant of its value. Its culture in England had trebled the number of bullocks and sheep, and he had no doubt it would produce a similar result in this country.

From his fields of turnips we went to his field of carrots, in relation to which he made remarks similar to those concerning the turnip, attaching almost as much importance to the one as he did to the other.

I find this year, as I did last, every variety of what Mr. Webster denominates his green crops, cultivated not only in a scientific manner, but upon a scale far more extensive than I had anticipated. Each plant furnished a topic on which he dwelt not only with apparent pleasure, but in relation to which he showed a familiarity as astonishing to me as it was agreeable to hear him.

While walking in the garden the conversation turned upon great men. I said to Mr. Webster, You have doubtless seen most of the great men of your time, and I should like to hear you say whom you think the greatest man. He answered without a moment's hesitation, "Sir Robert Peel is head and shoulders above any man I ever saw in my life," and he proceeded to show, by several apt comparisons, with the dead and living, that Sir Robert was great in all respects, "and whoever is a great man, viewed in the greatest number of lights, must be regarded," said he, "as the greatest of men." Nothing important has escaped his vigilant mind.

While standing at a bed of onions, he expressed his admiration of Sir Robert Peel's intimate knowledge, on subjects which seemed to be of small

moment. Said he, "While Sir Robert was discussing his great project for a tariff, and for remodelling the basis for taxation, in the midst of a speech, he said 'And now, if your Lordship pleases, I come to the subject of onion seed,'" about which, said Mr. Webster, he talked with the familiarity of a gardener. Little men scorn such topics, but great men are familiar with them. The shades of evening invited us home, where, before a bright crackling hickory fire, I have spent a delightful evening. A friend of Mr. Webster came to visit him, and the conversation was a succession of the richest anecdotes of the great men in this country and in England, to which I ever listened. These anecdotes, if collected and published in a volume, would instruct and delight thousands of fireside circles for generations to come. A Marshfield potato, roasted and hot, with the leg and wing of a quail, I found, relished well for supper, and furnished an agreeable termination of a well spent day. I must not forget to tell you, that we have made the preliminary arrangements for some rare sport, which is to come off in a day or two.

Yours truly.

THANKSGIVING—CONVERSATION ON SHEEP.

MARSHFIELD, Nov. 30, 1843.

This is "Thanksgiving Day;" a New England thanksgiving.

For more than two centuries it has been the custom with the descendants of the Pilgrims in this

State, as you are well aware,—to set apart a day in Autumn, after the fruits of the year have been gathered in, for thanksgiving, feasting, and recreation. To-day the children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren of each family are gathered together under one roof, whenever circumstances will permit, to renew and remind each other of their parental, fraternal or filial relations. It is a good custom, and one that will continue, while the memory of the Pilgrims shall last.

Within a short distance from where I am writing, our forefathers landed on Plymouth Rock; and the grounds on which I have rambled to-day, were cultivated by the pilgrims of the *May Flower*. In December, 1621, the year after they landed, they celebrated their first thanksgiving, or harvest festival. Governor Bradford then designated the day, as Governor Morton has done it now. Edward Winslow, on the 11th of December of that year, wrote a letter to one George Morton, whom he addressed as "loving and old friend." Speaking of the first thanksgiving, he says: "Our harvest being gotten in, our Governor sent four men on fowling, so that we might after a special manner, rejoice together after we had gathered the fruits of our labors. They four, in one day, killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week." Since that day what a change! For what small favors were they thankful compared to those which God has given to us! A feast to-day, is within the reach of every man, woman and child in New England. The hand of charity will be so open, that even the strolling beggar will feed

if he likes it, on the fat of the land. I went this morning with Mr. Webster and one of his men to the pasture, to select from his sheep-fold something good for the occasion. He made choice of two broad-backed Leicesters; one for himself and those who live with him, and feed on his bounty, and another to send to his friend, Mr. Charles Stetson, of the Astor House. I have had a cut of the one for his own use, and I hope I shall have a bit of the other, for the *Sykeses* are all fond of good mutton, and I intend to be in New-York before he has his thanksgiving. This is not Mr. Webster's sheep farm. He keeps his flocks and herds chiefly on his farm in Franklin, New Hampshire; but he has sixty or a hundred sheep here, a flock of Southdowns and Leicesters, which appear to be fat and heavy, and were selected by him while abroad in 1839. He informs me that they do very well, and fatten readily in the pastures by the sea. He keeps them here for their meat more than for their wool. This occasion led to a conversation on the subject of sheep, mutton, and beef, which to me was very interesting.

Mr. Webster commenced by remarking how little the great mass of Americans cared for mutton as food, while in England, the people generally esteem it the very best of butcher's meats. He said he believed one reason to be, that the English mutton in general, was better than ours. "You may occasionally," he said, "find good mutton in Albany, New-York, and Philadelphia, but in England you find no bad mutton."

It is a maxim with English farmers, that it is not

only bad economy, but absolute waste, to eat poor meat, whether beef or mutton. Being at the house one day of a very distinguished gentleman of the medical profession, he learned something about the age at which bullocks and sheep ought to be killed, in order to be superior for the table. To make the best beef, a bullock should not be slaughtered before it is at least five years old, and a sheep should not be killed before it is three. A lamb, indeed, may get nearly its full growth at a year and a half, or twenty months, and become very fat, and this is the age at which they are usually sold for the shambles; but such early mutton is not delicately mixed, the lean with the fat. It shrinks in boiling, and when cut upon the table, fills the dish with white gravy. Mutton two years older, though no fatter, will have a much higher flavor, the muscle and fat being better mixed, and when thoroughly cooked will fill the dish with red gravy. The same distinction, he said, might be observed between the beef of a bullock three years old, and that of one five or six.

Mr. Webster added, that although this was contrary to the received opinion, he believed it was nevertheless true, and he wished all lovers of good beef and mutton to try it, and settle the matter by their own experience. * * * * * *

He said he began to think the time was approaching when long woolled sheep would be in demand for the use of our American manufacturing establishments, and if he were a young man, and now beginning to be a farmer, he would have some Lincoln-

shire sheep, fellows that would yield twenty pounds per annum.

He believed that some sharp-sighted individuals in the State of New-York were already turning their attention in that direction. The time is rapidly approaching when this is to be a great wool-growing as well as wool-consuming country, although at present the whole number of sheep in the United States does not much exceed 20,000,000, and more than 5,000,000 of these are in the State of New-York. Sheep-raising cannot be made a profitable business on the coast; the mountain ranges and highlands, back from the sea, he says, are the regions for sheep. It was the opinion of Jonathan Roberts, a veteran farmer in Pennsylvania, who had taken much interest in that kind of stock, that land in abundance could be procured at a price that would enable the wool-growers to produce it at 30 cents a pound.

With the feeding and taking care of sheep, Mr. Webster appears to be perfectly familiar, and entered into it at length; he spoke in terms of the highest indignation against the mode adopted by those who sometimes treat so good an animal so badly, so inhumanly; and on the other hand, he spoke of his mode of treating "his lambs" in such a manner that he not only excited my admiration—by the extent of his researches and thoughts on this point—but awoke my deepest sympathy. Cruelty to brutes, and especially to one which is so often spoken of as the type of innocence, never fails to touch a tender chord. I have heard him in the Senate and at the bar—I have heard him speaking to countless crowds

—I have heard him at the festive board, and indeed upon almost all occasions, back to which I look with almost infinite pleasure—but I never heard him on a subject when he interested me more than he has to-day. The idea which I am able to give you of what he has said, and of the vast volume of information imparted, is so faint and meagre, that I have almost a mind to throw what I have written in the fire.

Upon a second thought, I conclude I will send it, leaving you to imagine how much I have omitted.

Yours truly.

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS—ANECDOTES, ETC.—HIS LIBRARY—ANECDOTE OF JOHN ADAMS.

MARSHFIELD, Dec. 6, 1843.

The weather to-day has been cold and stormy; I have not, therefore, wandered far from the fireside. But time has not hung heavily; on the contrary, the whole day and evening have been cheerfully spent. I never knew an hour to drag heavily where Mr. Webster was; indeed I find too often that the hour is gone before I am fairly conscious of its passage.

I do not believe the man lives who is more capable of filling up every hour and every moment, with what is either highly valuable or greatly amusing, than the distinguished gentleman with whom I have the pleasure of being a guest. I would not for the world mention to anybody, and much less in a letter which might find its way into the papers, a quarter of the incidents of a day, or what is said; for such a

betrayal of confidence would justly drive me from his hospitable roof.

I trust, therefore, I do not say a word, which may not with propriety be said; and when I speak of Mr. Webster's farm, his crops, sheep, cattle and all around him, I only speak of what you, or anybody else can see, by coming here, as well as myself. Indeed he knows that you publish a good many of my letters; he knows my scribbling propensity, and if I had written a word I ought not to have written, he would have mentioned it to me.

And when I write you what he says on the subject of agriculture, or on other similar topics, I only mention what he would himself say to you, or to any assembly of men, if present on such an occasion. He sometimes, indeed he often, condescends in these familiar "table talks" to utter sentiments to which a senate, or a cabinet, or a court, or a board of agriculture, or a chamber of commerce, or men of letters, or arts, or of sciences, might listen with infinite advantage and delight. And I deeply regret that what he says on such occasions, nine times out of ten, is doomed to die with the memory of those who hear it. Why was it not so ordained that such men could bequeath to those who, in the course of nature, must come after them, their storehouses of mental acquisitions, instead of their stores of goods and chattels, or their lands and stocks, which only they are permitted to bequeath? In that case, how vastly superior would be the bequests of Daniel Webster, to those of John Jacob Astor! What a setting out it would be to a young man on coming to manhood, if he could inherit

the mental capacity and acquisitions of John Quincy Adams! Soon after breakfast I went into the study. The warmth of the room, the quantity of embers and the expiring brands showed that the fire for this morning had not been recently kindled. On the table was a pile of letters for George to seal and carry to the mails, besides manuscripts indicating no small amount of labor performed before 8 o'clock. Around Mr. Webster lay books of authority, which had been opened and consulted. His day's work was nearly done.

A small portion only of his large library has yet been brought here. A portion of it is at Washington, and a much larger portion at Boston. During the last summer he has erected an addition to his house here, for the purpose of holding the library, which is now to be collected together. The building is twenty feet between the floor and the ceiling, divided into proper apartments, and finished in the Gothic style.

His books, I think, have cost him nearly thirty thousand dollars, besides the vast numbers which have been presented to him from authors on both sides of the Atlantic.

When put up according to his present arrangements, his library will be well worth a visit. He has a great many valuable manuscripts, notes and commentaries, besides the draughts and copies of an extensive correspondence with the distinguished men of the age, including letters to and from himself on many important matters that have occurred during

his time. The subject of agriculture is not the least important. * * * * * * *

At dinner, Mr. Webster related in his happiest style several anecdotes of the peculiarities of the great men who have gone off the stage, and among them the following, showing the force of language and figures as used by one of them. He said he called one day to see Mr. John Adams, the compatriot of Washington, and second President, who was a large, fat man, and at times had great difficulty in breathing. He made this call a little while previous to his death. He found him reclining on a sofa, evidently in feeble health. He said to Mr. Adams, "I am glad to see you, sir, and I hope you are getting along pretty well." To which Mr. Adams replied, after taking a long breath, in the following figurative language: "Ah! sir, quite the contrary. I find I am a poor tenant, occupying a house much shattered by time; it sways and trembles with every wind, and has, in fact, gone almost to decay; and what is worse, sir, the landlord, as near as I can find out, don't intend to make any repairs."

Yours truly.

PUBLIC MEETING.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 9, 1844.

* * * *. At Pittsfield, Mr. Francis Granger came into the cars as a passenger, and he, too, was most rapturously cheered. Thus we came and arrived here, at 8½ o'clock. At the dépôt the crowd

was immense. The whole population of the village seemed to be there to receive Mr. Webster, who was momentarily expected. Soon the Eastern train arrived, bringing not only Mr. Webster and his lady, with some friends who are on a pleasure trip;—but Mr. Choate, Mr. Winthrop, and other distinguished personages from the East. When they all landed, the vast multitude rent the air with plaudits, and escorted them to their respective lodgings. It is strange that any man has been able to get such a hold on the feelings of the people of his State, as this great man has. I cannot, if I would, describe the enthusiasm which seizes them as he approaches. The mention of his name is like a "hip, hip, hip;" which you know is followed by "three times three." The town was beautifully illuminated in the evening, and fireworks of various kinds were displayed. All night long the people from distant places continued to arrive.

* * * Thirty thousand people have attended the meeting. The procession was grand. Mr. Winthrop spoke one hour, Mr. Granger a little longer, Mr. Choate about fifty minutes, and Mr. Webster about twenty.

Yours truly.

A TRIP ALONG THE VALLEY OF THE CONNECTICUT.

SPRINGFIELD, (MASS.,) Aug. 14, 1844.

In my last letter I mentioned to you that a party came here with Mr. Webster, which was composed of

several ladies and gentlemen. To the highest endowments of nature all of them have added what education, travelling, and careful observation can do, to qualify them for the fullest and most rational enjoyment. The object of the trip is, not only to cultivate health, but to see a portion of the good old "Bay State," not visited by the majority of travellers. At this season how much more sensible to go forth and breathe the pure air of the country, than to remain in "a pent-up city," feeding upon the vapors of the town!

* * * We shall proceed up the valley of the Connecticut River to Northampton, and so on, to visit some other towns on its banks; then to return by some other route to Boston, and thence to Marshfield. To me this route is quite new, and as it is about my time for making my annual visit to the retreat of Mr. Webster, I look forward to the incidents of the journey with pleasure. It is a rare instance that Mr. Webster consents to make a trip so leisurely as he proposes to make this. It will be a source of relaxation to him and of happiness to those with him.

Among the gentlemen whom we meet here, is the Honorable George Ashmun, for whom Mr. Webster entertains very high respect, and places him in the first rank of his personal friends.

Yours truly.

VALLEY OF THE CONNECTICUT.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS., Aug., 1844.

The party, of which I spoke in my last letter, set out this morning, and has safely reached this place. Mr. Webster and the ladies, Mr. B. and myself, six in number, took seats in an extra stage-coach—as parties of pleasure were accustomed to do before railroads had driven that good old mode of travelling from almost all the great thoroughfares.

I am a constant advocate in the cause of internal improvement, and I would have a railway on every important route in the country, developing its resources, affording, not only facilities, but strong inducements to travel, and in other respects aiding in the advancement of all the concerns of life. * *

No incident worthy of much note occurred on the way. Each hamlet suggested new topics for conversation, and of course arrested our attention. The fine farms, the rich crops, and noble herds of cattle, drew from Mr. Webster, as we passed along, many valuable remarks upon agricultural subjects, with which, as everybody knows, he is very familiar. Two of the ladies had travelled over England, seeing the residences and estates of the nobility. Occasionally a section of the valley reminded them of what they had visited abroad, and this often led to topics full of interest. The whole party was in excellent spirits, and enjoyed it much. Many and many a day will go by before another ride will be had as agreeable to me as that of this morning. It appeared to be agreeable to

all of the party, for all knew how to appreciate and enjoy the beautiful country through which we passed.

We drove on the east side of the Connecticut River for several miles, and then crossed over in a ferry-boat, propelled in the old mode, by two horses walking around like convicts in a tread-mill. Steam power, for which the ladies would have had less sympathy than for these poor horses, is not yet in use. We crossed the Chickapee River—a rapid stream—on a bridge about three hundred feet long. The bridge is high, stands on seven stone piers, and afforded us, while crossing, a fine view of the dam and manufacturing establishment. The village of Chickapee, (or Chickopee, as I saw it written on the guide-board,) is about a mile north of the bridge, and is a neat and flourishing hamlet. * * * *

Mr. Webster said that not many towns in New England have sent forth more great and good men than this. Some of them seem to have been influenced by the grandeur of the mountains and scenery amid which they were born. Among the distinguished men who had their origin here, are Caleb Strong, the former Governor of the State; and Judge Strong, an upright and eminent man; Rev. Dr. Edwards, the great theologian; his son, Dr. Edwards, formerly President of Union College; the great and good Solomon Stoddard, an eminent divine; and his son, Hon. John Stoddard.

These are a few of the names which have graced the annals of our country—men who have conferred honor on the place of their birth. Their memories are cherished with affectionate regard by the citizens

of the village. We paid our respects to a venerable and highly respectable citizen—Judge Lyman—who is, I am sorry to say, a little indisposed. His head is white with age, but his bland and agreeable manners indicate that he has not forgotten the charms of hospitality, for which he has long been loved, He and Mr. Webster talked over the many scenes, social and political, through which they had passed. At three o'clock, we returned home to dine; and, while dining, we projected an excursion to the top of Mount Holyoke; an account of which I will give you in my next.

Yours truly.

JOURNEY FROM THE CONNECTICUT TO MARSHFIELD—THE BOOKS MR. WEBSTER READS—HOW HE READS BOOKS—RESPECT OF THE PEOPLE.

MARSHFIELD, Aug., 1844.

I wrote you last from Northampton, as we were about setting out for a rapid drive up the valley of the Connecticut.

On the way across the country to this place, I had neither time nor opportunity to write from either of the NewEngland villages we visited. We passed through a large number of them, remarkable for their neatness and apparent thrift, and in relation to each I could write a paragraph or two, perhaps of some interest, for each has its legends, and its peculiar history; but I shall omit it all till I make another trip, which I intend to do when more at leisure.

My account of our drive from Springfield to

Northampton, will afford you some idea of the pleasures we enjoyed as we passed from one village to another. The party, however, after leaving the latter place, occupied two carriages instead of one, which, being open, gave us a fine view of the mountains and valleys as we drove on.

Before setting out, Mr. Webster provided himself with a variety of entertaining books, which, like Napoleon, he read constantly, when not engaged in conversation, or not interested in some object by the way-side. One of these books was "Pencillings by the Way," which he read attentively, and praised; he said the letters were both instructive and amusing, and evinced great talents on the part of the author. He read the books through with great rapidity, catching at a glance what each page unfolded, and mastering their contents within a quarter of the time which I should consume. He did not, however, like the Emperor, tear out the pages as fast as he perused them, and from the window of his carriage scatter them to the winds. To me it was instructive to see him read a book. He first went over the index, and apparently fixed the framework of it in his mind; then he studied with equal earnestness the synopsis of each chapter. Then he looked at the length of the chapter. Thus, before he began to read it, he took an accurate survey of its parts. Then he read it; passing rapidly over whatever was commonplace, and dwelling only on what was original and worthy of note.

At one time, while conversing on the subject of reading, and of topics worth the attention of men, he

said he wished he could live three lives, while living this:

One he would devote to the study of Geology, or, to use his own words, "to reading the earth's history of itself."

Another life he would devote to Astronomy; he said he had lately been reading the history of that science, written so clearly, that he, although no mathematician, could understand it, and he was astonished at seeing to what heights it had been pushed by modern intellects.

The other life he would devote to the Classics.

He spoke in the highest terms of commendation of the acquirements in this respect of Mr. Choate, who by the daily habit of reading them, has become as familiar with those languages as they who wrote them.

While at school, he (Mr. Webster) had never read much of Greek or Latin. He had, however, read the latter considerably while in the study and practice of the law.

The best of his life he had devoted to law and politics, and he mentioned what great authors he had studied, on both subjects, with most attention. For his light reading and for amusement, he had chosen the travels and biographies of men more or less eminent in various respects. But for the last ten years, he had studied natural subjects, and from these only could he derive any adequate satisfaction. As years crept upon him, he felt his mind involuntarily drawn more to the study and contemplation of sober realities—to the book of nature itself, rather than to the

fancies and speculations which belong to youth and early manhood.

I have heretofore spoken of the respect and high regard shown on the part of the people of this State for Mr. Webster. Wherever we stopped, strong demonstrations were made of the hold he has upon them. Lawyers, clergymen, farmers, and all classes have some prominent reason for their attachment; and in a moment after his arrival at any village, although he manifestly shunned observation, the news flew from house to house, and men, women and children gathered around, but without being obtrusive, and seemed to rejoice in the opportunity to take, as one of them said, "a good look at him."

We added to the party a young lady from Boston, and another Mr. Blatchford from New-York, together with Mr. Tileston, a gentleman from the same city, who is one of the most agreeable companions for such an excursion I have ever met.

These gentlemen have left their banks, their insurance companies, their counting-houses, have turned their backs on their vast concerns, for a week of unalloyed sport; and, rely upon it, they will have it.

If enjoyment can be obtained by seeking for it, here it can be found. We came by the route I have heretofore described, and arrived just as the evening shades began to appear.

We dined at 6 o'clock. A fishing excursion is already projected for to-morrow. The excitement in anticipation begins to run high, for both Mr. Blatch-

ford and Mr. Tileston are expert fishermen, and the strife is, who will take the greatest number; I have bet on Mr. Tileston. I now go to my pillow for that sweet sleep which follows a day of wholesome exercise. My windows open upon the sea, from which comes the most delicious gales to freshen and invigorate the sources of health.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER AND A PARTY COD-FISHING.

MARSHFIELD, August, 1844.

The sun rose this morning with unusual splendor. I was up to see it. Just as I threw up my window, his upper disk was emerging, as it were, from the bosom of the ocean, and I watched his rising steadily till the whole orb was above the water. A magnificent spectacle. The artificial fire-works, which crowds rush to Niblo's to see, dwindle to nothing, compared with the great natural display which I saw, and which Mr. Webster sees every fair morning when at home.

The fishermen, Mr. Blatchford and Mr. Tileston, of New-York, and myself, were summoned to breakfast at 6 o'clock, according to the arrangements made last night. The ladies were, undoubtedly, in a sound sleep. Coming from a long journey, replete with excitement and fatigue, nothing could be more agreeable to them than prolonged slumbers, and the uninterrupted indulgence of their sweet dreams. They were, therefore, not called. While we were partaking of that early repast, the wagons to take us to the fish-

house, with all the apparatus for sport, were drawn to the door. Each one put on an apparel adapted to the business. I will not stop to describe each dress, but suffice it to say that four fine subjects for the pencil of some Hogarth, were presented in our tableaux vivant on the porch (including Mr. Webster), all bent on fun.

We drove rapidly to the point of land at Green Harbor, distant from the mansion about two miles, where his fish-house is located, and where his boats, when not engaged, are moored for safety.

On the way we took in Mr. Seth Peterson, who was made famous by Mr. Webster's speech at Saratoga in 1840. He knows, not only where the best fishing grounds are, but how to make the sport agreeable to gentlemen. Respect for his age and experience induces Mr. Webster to call him *Commodore* Peterson. Every thing being ready, we embarked in a small sail boat called the *Signet*, which was pulled by oars a short way down the river to the harbor, where Mr. Webster's beautiful yatch *Comet*, under command of Captain Nicholas, lay in waiting with her anchor weighed. We boarded her, and in the twinkling of an eye, the sails were thrown to the breeze, and we were scudding before the wind. The Commodore in the *Signet* unfurled his sail and followed in our wake. We steered for the fishing grounds, some eight or nine miles from the land, where codfish and haddock abound.

We had not sailed far, before we saw what to a landsman was almost incredible. It was a shoal of manhaden, literally filling acres of the sea. I could

scarcely believe my own eyes. It was the first time I ever had any adequate idea of the innumerable inhabitants of the ocean. The sands upon the shore, the leaves of the forests, are no more countless than these fish. Millions of fins were protruded above the surface, making the bay resemble an extensive marsh covered with water, when the growing grass appears above it. As we glided on, we saw them moving to the right and left, so thick, they seemed to crowd each other.

Mr. Webster informed us that these manhaden are a species of herring, which, from the first of July to the last of August, swarm along the shores of the NewEngland States and Long Island. They are too oily to be much used for food, but they are extensively used for manure. He applies them with great effect to his lands, which had been worn out by too long cultivation without being adequately manured, and these lands now yield abundant crops.

These fish are also used as mackarel bait, and as bait for other fish. At Lynn, in 1836, 1,500 barrels were disposed of for this purpose. Recently, they have constituted an article of commerce. The usual length of the manhaden is from ten to fourteen inches, and they weigh, on an average, he says, about a pound. Two hundred of them fill a barrel, which will bring, at the shore, 15 cents. One hundred barrels to the acre is very rich manure. One fish is equal to a shovel full of common manure, and he said it frequently happens that the fishermen take, with a seine, five hundred barrels at a single haul. One hundred barrels is a moderate haul. These manhaden, he

says, are called by various names, such as bony fish, moss-bunkers, mars-bunkers, hard-heads and parr-hengers; but, for a joke, he called them Marshfield roses—a name suggested, doubtless, by their perfume just after being exposed on the fields which they are to enrich. After passing these fish, we heard the Commodore cry out from the *Signet*, "Look to the forward!" which we did, and there saw an immense shoal of porpoises, apparently bound for Plymouth Bay, and going at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles the hour. The whereabouts and rapidity of their movements, were seen by their constant leaping above the surface. While we watched their movements, there was scarcely a moment when several were not out of the water. It was a sight to make a landsman stare.

On our way out, Mr. Webster was chiefly occupied examining the hooks and lines, and in adjusting and distributing among the party the requisite fishing apparatus, with which the *Comet* was well furnished; others did what was called "trailing for mackerel." Mr. Blatchford, with no bait but a bit of white rag, while trailing his hook, caught a codfish, weighing some fifteen or twenty pounds. This indicated what luck was to attend his fishing.

At length we reached the ground designated by the Commodore, hauled down the canvas, cast anchor, and went to work. Mr. Blatchford and Mr. Tileston were each provided with two lines—one large, for codfish; the other small, for haddock; which were baited accordingly, and both occupied the most favorable position in the yacht; because, in addition to the sport

which all expected, the strife between those gentlemen for the largest number, added much to the excitement of the occasion, and entitled them to the preference. I had bet on the success of Mr. Tileston. The weather was favorable, and the sport began early, and continued without much interruption till it was time to set out for home.

Mr. Blatchford, in the morning, led off in advance of Mr. Tileston, in numbers, and by 11 o'clock, he was a dozen ahead.

When the sport was over, it was ascertained that the former had taken seventy-one, and the latter fifty-seven.

I lost my wager. Mr. Webster and myself had tolerable luck; but we did not zealously apply ourselves to the sport more than half the time. There were, as you may well suppose, a great many pleasant incidents during the day, to break any monotony that might otherwise have existed, and to keep up the excitement.

A chowder, made under the direction of Mr. Webster, and a dinner composed of codfish, haddock, perch, lobster, and other delicacies of the ocean, followed; and I need not add, that they were well relished by us all. We had the company of ladies, and the evening went pleasantly away.

Mr. Webster proposed a rubber of whist, which was cheerfully played, he taking a hand. I have often played with him when there was just time enough for three games before his early hour for retiring. He played well.

My friend, Mr. Tileston, says "it will not do to

give it up," and has challenged Mr. Blatchford to another contest, to-morrow, which the latter has accepted. I shall be there to see.

Yours truly.

HORTICULTURE—PRESERVES BIRDS AND SQUIRRELS—FAMOUS HORSE—FISHING WITH LADIES—DRIVE TO THE POINT FOR TAKING THE BEST VIEW.

MARSHFIELD, Aug. 1844.

Instead of going on the fishing excursion with Mr. Blatchford and Mr. Tileston, with whom the strife for the greater number still rages, I preferred to remain to-day on shore with Mr. Webster and the ladies. The *Comet* sailed from the mouth of the river at an early hour, with the two gentlemen above-named, and all the appointments required for the rarest sport.

The wind was fair, and the day was fine.

After breakfast, I took a stroll through the garden and the grounds adjacent to the mansion. During a part of the time, Mr. Webster, knowing my fondness for seeing whatever is interesting in agriculture or horticulture, was with me. He showed me his various kinds of fruit trees—his pears, plums, peaches and apples. His orchard this year fairly groans under the weight of its burden; and among the apples are some of the best I ever saw. In his garden are several varieties of plums, and among them the Orleans, very fine and early. He told me a fact with respect to plum trees that I did not know be-

fore, which is, they should not be cultivated like other fruit trees, after they come to bear. "The soil," said he, "should not be rich, and should be trodden down like a gravel walk. The result will be, that the tree will not grow so fast, and the sap will centre itself more in the fruit. It is the practice of some who cultivate the plum extensively, after the trees are eight or ten years old, if in a rich soil, to remove it for ten feet in circumference, and put in its place poor earth, sand, or gravel. Pear trees, on the contrary, require rich soil."

I was struck with the tameness of several little animals and birds, which I have elsewhere found quite wild and shy. A squirrel, for instance, sat almost within our reach, eating a nut, and hearing us talk, without the least indication of fear. The birds hopped about, singing their wild notes, as if unconscious of our presence. A brood of quails had actually been hatched between the house and the gate, in the hedge that lines the carriage-way to the door. I inquired why this was so; he said, "during the whole time I have been there I have endeavored to cultivate their acquaintance, and have never permitted their nests to be disturbed, nor do I allow guns to be fired on the premises, nor sticks or stones to be thrown at them, nor anything done that would frighten them away. They seem to know where they are well treated, and come with the seasons to enjoy my protection."

In the course of the morning ramble, I came to the spot on "Gotham Hill," where lies buried a famous horse, owned in his lifetime by Mr. Webster.

The horse was remarkable for his speed as a traveller, and was therefore properly named "Steamboat." At his death, Mr. Fletcher Webster—now in China—erected a monument to perpetuate his memory.

The crest on the stone, is a horse's head, and underneath is inscribed the following epitaph:

"Hic jacet
Equus celeberrimus
Daniel Webster's
'*Steamboat*,' *Vocatus*,
Obiit Nov. 3, 1838.
Siste, viator, major te viator hic siste."

This epitaph, translated, is as follows: "Here lies Daniel Webster's celebrated horse called 'Steamboat.' Died Nov. 3, 1838. Stop traveller; a greater traveller than you stops here."

Where is the man, if ever an owner of a noble horse, who does not look back to his death with regret, and is not willing to pay a slight tribute to his memory?

Returning from our stroll, Mr. Webster and myself, with the two young ladies, taking the horses and carriage, drove to the fish-house. The *Comet* lay about eight miles from the shore on the smooth sea, where we imagined the contending sportsmen, with Captain Nicholas and his men to keep the tally, were "pulling in" the codfish and haddock to their hearts' content. A beautiful bay, a good boat, excellent fishing tackle, and the fish leaping from the water as if anxious to be caught, were all before us.

Seeing everything to tempt us into imitation of

our friends on board the *Comet*, we could not suffer the opportunity to pass, without "throwing a line or two," and we proposed to the ladies, to join us in the sport. Commodore Peterson was there, and the *Signet* was brought from her moorings to the steps descending to the water. Everything being ready, we went aboard, and rowed to the grounds where perch and the smaller codfish abound, and where we cast anchor.

The great expounder of the Constitution, now taught the young ladies old Izaak Walton's art. Without the knowledge of any *art*, they well knew how to be fishers of men, but they had never before essayed to fish among the finny tribe.

From such a teacher the art was soon acquired; and no sooner had the tempting bait of my fair friend, who had stood with me on the peak of Holyoke, been thrown in the crystal element, than it was caught—(fortunate fish! who did not envy you?)—and while she was "playing the codfish in," the other lady on the other side of the boat was equally successful. To watch the ladies as they, with sparkling eyes amid the highest excitement, drew their leaping prisoners to the boat, and then to aid them in securing their prizes, were to me more pleasurable that to catch them myself, much as I love the sport. Thus the fun began, and for an hour it went on, keeping the Commodore baiting the hooks, taking off the fish, and shaking his sides with laughter to see how much it was enjoyed. At length the Commodore hoisted sail, Mr. Webster taking the helm, and we were wafted swiftly by the

beautiful islands and fields which are found in, or bordering upon, this romantic stream.

We may search poetry or prose in vain to find any description of the pleasure of sailing which exceeds what we felt and enjoyed on that memorable occasion. If perchance Mr. Webster is ever placed at the helm of a mightier ship, may he steer her with equal skill amid the rocks and shoals laid down in the chart of her voyage.

Resuming the carriage, we drove to the top of the hill, where stood, till lately, an observatory, to which thousands resorted to admire the magnificent scenery nature has there spread out to view. As the carriage emerged from the grove, through which we reached the summit, so that the whole of the picture was presented to the eye, the question often asked—"What induced Mr. Webster to retire to Marshfield?" was answered to my entire satisfaction. He came to occupy this spot because the hand of nature had adapted it exactly to his taste. If there is a place on earth calculated to entice such a man from the turmoil of life to its more quiet shades, it is this.

The chiefest attraction is the ocean. As we stood on the corner of the hill facing the sea, looking from the right all round in front to the left, the eye ranging a complete semicircle, we had as fine a view of the ocean as can anywhere be found. Ships of all sizes, some near and some almost lost in the dim blue distance, were gallantly ploughing the main.

From that vast expanse came cool invigorating breezes to fan our cheeks, and sport with the ringlets of the ladies. Before us, stretching from our feet

down the declivity across the plain to the water's edge, lay the farm, embracing some twelve or thirteen hundred acres, with its abundant fields of corn or other luxuriant crops, its well filled barns, thriving orchards, green pastures, and high-bred cattle.

In a central position, surrounded by trees, gardens and out-houses, and adjacent to a fishpond on an extensive lawn, stands the dwelling. It was built in olden times, but has recently been enlarged and greatly improved. The style is what is called Elizabethan. Few houses in this country, constructed for convenience rather than for display, are more to be admired than this. I will not dwell on the details of the picture before us, but suffice it to say, that any man knowing Mr. Webster as well as I do, and seeing what has brought him here, will not only cease to wonder why he came, but will wonder what can allure him hence. We returned from our drive, and at dinnet met the fishermen. We heard them relate the incidents of the day.

Taking into account the number and size of the fish caught, they both regard it as an even match, and neither boasts of victory. But the sport is not over; the contest is to be resumed to-morrow, and, if possible, with increased excitement.

Yoûrs truly.

TRIP VIA NEWPORT—MR. WEBSTER WITH AN EVENING AT MARSHFIELD—MUSIC.

MARSHFIELD, August, 1848.

I left Newport before the grand fancy ball, which is to be the closing scene of this season's melo-drama, and hastened here, touching Boston on my way. A sail up the bay from Newport to Fall River, and a ride thence on the railway, must always be an agreeable pastime, but my trip on this occasion was doubly so, for I was in the most agreeable company. Three Boston ladies so far beguiled my attention, that I found myself at that city before I thought half time enough had elapsed. All I remember seeing on the way were some handsome landscapes, some pretty islands, a few flourishing hamlets, and a great many smiles. Of Boston I shall not say much. The hotels were crowded, and the accommodations afforded to a sportsman and his dog were not those of which I am disposed to boast. When I speak of my dog, by the way, don't imagine he is the same Cato so much petted during my early travelling and sporting. His days have been numbered. This is Cato the younger. Instead of spending a day, as I was wont to do, coming here on foot, from Boston, that I might have a crack at woodcock and other birds along the path, I took the cars on the Old Colony road, with my fishing-tackle, dog and gun, and was brought to Kingston, seven miles distant from this, with the speed of steam. I wish Capt. Miles Standish—that great captain among the pilgrims of the May Flower—could have seen us coming.

Marshfield appears better, far better than ever. All things, notwithstanding the prolonged absence of the great agriculturist, who expends annually so much skill, are in good repair, and here "two blades of grass" are made to grow where "only one grew before."

When I arrived at the mansion of my friend, I found no one in except his faithful George, who made me feel at home. It was towards the close of the day, and the cool breezes from the ocean had sprung up to fan the face of nature. The herds of oxen, of cows, and of younger cattle, which the heat of the day had driven to the shades, were then venturing forth; the bleating flocks were visible, and all the inhabitants of the farm were astir. There was an enchantment in the scene before me, which the hot bricks and dusty streets of a crowded town rarely present to the mind. The ladies had gone out for a drive; I entered my room to await their return.

From what I had heard, I expected to find Mr. Webster confined to his house with illness, brought on by severe labours at Washington, and the journeys hither and thither during the late oppressively hot weather; but in a few moments after my arrival, my apprehensions were dispelled by his cheering voice calling me out (for George had told him I was here) to see the result of his afternoon's sport, in the shape of eight or ten blue fish, which he had just brought from Duxbury Bay. There they were, on the clean straw in his buggy wagon, a sight gratifying to a fisherman, and giving me no very distant idea of a delicious chowder. He is not sick. His iron consti-

tution manfully sustains him against the ravages of time, under the most incessant toil, and in the midst of the most heart-rending afflictions. Let it be the prayer of his countrymen that his health may not be impaired, and that the years on years to which he is entitled before old age comes, and his undiminished intellect, may be devoted to his country during the perils through which she too often passes. While the governments of the old world, touched by the potent influence of the new, are crumbling to atoms, it is of vital importance that he, who has so often averted imminent dangers, should be on the watchtower of the exposed battlement.

In a day or two he will meet his friends and neighbours on his own farm, under the shade of his own trees, and give them the benefit of his wisdom and experience, by suggestions touching the coming election. He is true to his country and his party; indeed he cannot be otherwise, and he yields to no complaints, to no unworthy motives, but on the contrary, is governed by the loftiest patriotism, and will now and always do his duty to both. A whisper at variance with this is a gross slander. He does not always follow blindly this or that particular leader in the party, but acting on his own judgment and experience, he is always consistent, always right.

After Mr. Webster had given some directions about his farming affairs, I joined him in his library. He bade me welcome to Marshfield. The many pleasant scenes—field sports, fishing and social amusements through which it has been my good fortune, as well as great pleasure, to pass with him here and

elsewhere, and of which I have given you some accounts in years gone by, are the gems of my life. Arrangements are already made for the cheerful repetition of some of them, while I am in this vicinity. The ladies returned and are with us.

The pleasures of the day and many agreeable incidents being talked over, supper was announced, and after supper each took himself to that which was most agreeable. I came back to the library, and while looking over a large number of books, ancient and modern, as I went from case to case, I was instructed and amused by an account of the sale of the copyright of "Paradise Lost." Milton, it seems, contracted to sell it to one Samuel Simmons, on the following terms: £5 to be paid down, £5 to be paid on the sale of thirteen hundred copies, £5 on the sale of thirteen hundred copies of the second edition, and £5 on the sale of the same number of the third. Only fifteen hundred of each to be printed. By his own receipt, dated April 26, 1669, it appears he received two instalments—£10 in all. The other £10 were received by his widow. Mr. Simmons sold it to one Brabanzon Aylmer for £25. It was afterwards sold to Jacob Tonson, who made a fortune from it. The evening has been cheerful. I shall now retire to dream, if I can, how rich I should be with all the money that has since been made from the selling of Milton's "Paradise Lost."

I wish I could give you a true idea of one of nature's concerts or operas as I hear it at this moment. The ocean on one side, with its continual roar, makes music as deep-toned and solemn as the fullest note of

Beneventano; a thousand insects are rendering vocal every bush and plant on the lawn, and on the border of the fish-pond on the other side. No Italian chorus I ever heard displayed finer voices. In the midst of all these comes the whip-poor-will, making the welkin ring with her wild notes, first on one side and then on the other, like Truffi, the *prima donna*, in one of her exciting scenas. What a glorious serenade to welcome slumber, and lull me while I sleep.

Yours, truly.

MR. WEBSTER SHOOTS A TEAL—HE RAMBLES OVER HIS FIELDS AND TALKS OF AGRICULTURE, AND HIS CATTLE AND SHEEP.

MARSHFIELD, August, 1848.

"But yonder comes the powerful King of day,
Rejoicing in the East."

Just as I sit down to write the sun is rising, and half his circle is seen from my window above the surface of the ocean. What a magnificent sight! How tame all the colors which art has put on canvas, when compared with the brilliancy of the scene before me. Come, ye citizens of Gotham, and see what ye rarely ever see in your lives—a glorious sunrise.

Bang! I hear the report of a gun. What has fallen?

On going to my window, I saw Mr. Webster, towards the ocean, standing on the point of the bay which stretches inland to his garden wall, with a gun in his hand, the smoke rising above his head, and one of his men bringing to him a bird. He has shot a

plump teal, one of the numerous kinds of wild fowl on this part of the coast, which had ventured thus late in the morning to linger too near the premises, not knowing that the sun never rises to find the owner asleep. For this unseasonable contempt of danger on its part we will taste the bird at dinner. So says Mr. Webster.

Excuse me for an hour, for I am called to take a ramble in the fields with boots proof against the morning dews, to use Mr. Webster's words, "to spy out the nakedness of the land." I don't think we shall find much nakedness to spy out. * * *

I have returned from a delightful walk with farmer Webster. Thousands have seen Mr. Webster in the Capitol, where listening Senators were hearing the wisdom that fell from his lips; tens of thousands have heard him at the bar demanding justice, exculpating innocence, and expounding the law; hundreds of thousands "with up-turned faces," have been charmed by his eloquence in popular assemblies; and millions have read his speeches, sent by reporters to all parts of the civilized world; but comparatively few have seen and heard *farmer* Webster, among his cattle and sheep, his crops and forests, the products of his own care and labor. Whenever he is to speak on any of the above mentioned occasions, short-hand writers are sent to take down his words, so that no idea of his may be lost.

Now if the cultivators of the soil should send reporters to note down what he says touching their most useful and indispensable occupation, whenever he has occasion, they would be enriched, as the earth

is by the overflowing of the Nile. In the fields, walking through his crops, among his cattle and his sheep, each one suggesting a topic, he surpasses even himself. But alas! of what use is so much wisdom to me in a chase for a fox, or in shooting a woodcock, or in angling for a trout? Were I a farmer, it would be otherwise. You may become one, therefore I will give you the benefit of what I saw.

We took a good look at the potatoes. If there is any crop worthy of attention, and indeed absolutely requiring it, Mr. Webster says it is the *potato crop*, and especially so when it is liable to that fatal disease by which it is destroyed in so many countries. He has this season produced a large quantity, chiefly of two kinds, the mercers and the pink-eyes. He has never had a finer crop. He planted them early, and they are ripe early. Many are already harvested, and all have been ready for the harvest some time. They grow, he says, to a large size, with but few in a hill, and without any appearance of disease. He planted the seed on a light, loamy soil, which he prepared with a sub-soil plough, and manured with a fish called manhaden, and a sea-weed called kelp, taken from the ocean bordering on his farm. For this crop he uses no barn-yard manure, for where it is scattered on the land, weeds will grow. At a proper time his men will take these potatoes to Boston, where their good quality will bring for them a good price.

We looked at the turnips. He has one field of ten acres, the best he has ever produced. He said he chooses for this crop also, a light soil, and ex-

cludes from it all barn-yard manure. Manure fresh from the sea is exactly the thing for turnips. All succulent crops delight in it. To-morrow he will show me how and where he obtains the weed, and how he uses it.

We next looked at a field of five acres of beets, growing by the side of the turnips in a most luxuriant manner. His preparation for this crop was like that of the potato and turnip, consequently the field is free from weeds. After the seed is once planted, he has nothing to do, but wait for the harvest to come. Mr. Webster has a strict regard for what is called a rotation in crops, and generally makes his turnips and beets follow a crop of wheat or oats. These green crops, he says, do not exhaust the soil, but bring to it as much annually as they take away.

In former letters I have given you his views, the result of his reading, his reflection and his experience on this interesting topic.

His corn is growing finely and promises an abundant harvest; and, as we passed over the stubble fields, I could see there had been an extraordinary yield. Mr. Webster remarked that in this respect, "Nature had been bountiful." His barns are all full.

Among his cattle he apparently takes great delight. He has imported some of the finest breeds in England and Scotland. His Devonshires, Durhams and Ayrshires are all noble specimens. He almost always has some prodigies in nature. Sometimes an ox, sometimes a cow; but this year he has a remarkable pair of twin steers, yearlings, exactly alike, and as large as a common three-year old.

His sheep, especially the South-Downs and Cheviots, are the finest I ever saw, and I presume they are not excelled by any in this country.

Coming through the lawn, around the fresh pond near the house, I saw a large number of the real Canada geese. He says they feed on grass, and flourish best when left alone, where they have access to water and islands beyond the leap of a fox. Here they have just such an island.

You must excuse me again, as I am going to take a ride with a lady. The "neighing and pawing steeds" are at the door.

Yours truly.

A COMMITTEE CALLS ON MR. WEBSTER—HE HAS A PRESENT FROM AFAR.

MARSHFIELD, August, 1848.

* * * On our return home from the ride with Miss B. we found the defender of the Constitution seated under the shade of the great elm tree, in front of his house, with several eminent men, his guests, talking gravely and wisely upon some political topics of deep concern to the country. I listened awhile and was greatly instructed, but under his own tree Mr. Webster would rather talk on any other subject. Some gentlemen had come from a distance to see him on these subjects, but as soon as courtesy would permit it, topics more agreeable were introduced. While under the trees, a messenger brought him a walking-staff with this inscription: "Constantinople,

September, 1846. The Honorable Daniel Webster, Marshfield, Massachusetts, United States of America, for whom this Daphne-wood stick was cut on the borders of the Bosphorus, where Mahomet II. and the Greeks had their last field battle before the complete subjugation of the latter." It was a present from a clergyman. Mr. Webster, in September, 1846, probably little thought that any one so far off was thinking to compliment him in this manner. His premises are greatly occupied by mementoes from all sorts of persons, in all the States and Kingdoms with which we have intercourse.

The house is filled with guests, and I see another carriage full driving up the glen. I must dress for dinner.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER PREPARES FOR A SPEECH—HIS DRESS—HIS VIEWS ON THESE SUBJECTS—DRIVES OVER HIS FARM, AND TALKS OF AGRICULTURE.

MARSHFIELD, August —, 1848.

Long before the sun rose, Mr. Webster was in his library, pondering doubtless on what he should say to his neighbors, who are to meet him to-morrow; in other words, he is going to make a speech. Although it is taken for granted that he could draw from his immense storehouse on the spur of any moment sufficient to give them tolerable satisfaction, and to produce the desired effect without much thinking, no man is more ready—such is never his practice

He would sooner appear before them half-clothed than half-prepared: and he has told me he would as soon stand up and tell them that he had garments enough at home, but did not think it worth while to put them on, as to tell them he could have made a satisfactory speech, perhaps, if he had taken the requisite pains. He never turns off his hearers by saying he throws out crude thoughts for their improvement and consideration, in which there may be something or may be nothing. All the thoughts he throws out have been well digested, and all their bearings and soundings have been carefully ascertained. He holds it disrespectful in a high degree to an audience that will listen to him, and perhaps come a great distance to do so, "to make an apology instead of a speech." Besides, what he is to say tomorrow, and, indeed, what he says on almost all occasions, is virtually said to the whole country. Several reporters are already on the ground,—short-hand writers, to send forth, on the wings of lightning, each word as soon as it shall be spoken. And he knows, too, that each word will be weighed in a thousand scales, and, if found wanting, complaints will be made.

I have never heard of a man who would take more pains to meet the just expectations of those who are to hear him, or be more particular in showing a proper respect to their opinions, taste, and their convenience, than Mr. Webster. He even takes care that he is dressed in a becoming manner. Whoever saw him in Court, in the Senate, at dinner, at any party in the presence of ladies, or on any occasion, without

discovering that he was dressed in a manner peculiarly proper? His uniform for the Senate and the Bar is, a blue coat with gilt buttons, a buff-colored vest, and black pantaloons. It is not that he fancies he appears personally better in one suit than another, but because he will, on all occasions, show, by some mark of attention, that he omits nothing that is due to those before whom it is his duty or his pleasure to present himself. If he does not show this respect, it is because some circumstance prevents him. Hence it is, that whenever time is given, he goes before his hearers with every topic well considered, with every mark of respect.

He never writes out a speech, which he over and over again scratches and amends, and finally commits to memory *in hæc verba*, as many speakers do, but he prepares himself by thinking. The whole mass of matter pertaining to any subject he puts into the crucible of his brain, and there separates the dross from the pure gold, which he forges into links and forms a chain.

It is his custom to do this great business of thinking at an early hour, before any of the stirring events of the day, or matters of common concern come to occupy or divert his attention. I saw him this morning in his library, surrounded by those countless volumes which contain the thoughts and learning of all preceding ages, with one hand in his vest pocket, standing erect, and his countenance illuminated, as if he was communing with some master spirit. On the table lay the half-sheet of paper on which he had noted down the index of the thoughts he was revolv-

ing. If Healy will transfer to canvas a correct portrait, as I saw him, with all his surroundings, and catch a gleam of the inspiration which seemed, at that time, to have touched his mind, I will pay him any price he may ask. Harding, the great artist, has done it to perfection, except, in his portrait, the right hand touches the table.

After breakfast, Mr. Webster and myself drove to the residence of his son, Mr. Fletcher Webster, a pleasant place on this farm, nearer the sea than the mansion-house, and paid our regards to his lady, and for a while played with his children.

In driving and riding about I had seen scores of wagons and carts loaded with an article which had never before arrested my attention. I asked what it was. Mr. Webster said it was kelp, a sea-weed, to which he alluded yesterday. It is used by himself and neighbors to fertilize their farms, and one load of it, he says, is equal to three of manure taken from barn-yards. In some countries it is used in making glass. I was curious to know all about it. He said, previous to his coming to Marshfield, it had never, to his knowledge, been used here, though thousands of tons were thrown on the shore annually, to be decomposed, and washed back again to the deep. It had long been used advantageously in Ireland and on the coast of Scotland. He drove me to the beach, that I might see where the bounteous ocean deposited so much real wealth. There it lay, in an extended pile, at high-water mark, from which the waves had receded, leaving it in a convenient position to be taken away, and there could not be less than one

thousand tons or loads. It has a greenish appearance, and is, beyond all doubt, very rich in fertilizing qualities. In ancient times, when Heaven rained down manna, there was no more cause for gratitude than this bounteous gift.

Between the beach and the uplands a small river runs, some distance partly parallel to the shore of the ocean, and, without a bridge, would prevent communication. Mr. Webster and the Hon. Gershon B. Weston, a rich and liberal citizen of Duxbury, headed a subscription to build one, and thereby afforded the inhabitants of the neighboring farms an opportunity to use it. A greater public benefit can scarcely be conferred than to disclose such a source of wealth, and, at the same time, open the way to its general enjoyment.

Having seen where it was obtained, we drove to that part of his farm which he was covering with it. After spreading it carefully and evenly over the surface, he turns it deep into the soil by plows, each drawn by three yoke of oxen, in its fresh state. There his men were at work, as if their lives depended on what they could accomplish in a short time. He says this plan is adopted by the Kentish and Suffolk farmers, and many of the Scotch, and he has found that by consigning it to the soil as soon as possible after it comes from the sea, the better will be its effects. After the salt water has drained from the weeds, and a partial decomposition has taken place, its value will be materially diminished. His poorest lands, those that have been worn and tilled since the

Pilgrims landed, are benefited and rendered greatly productive by its use.

One chief excellence, he says, this manure possesses over barn-yard, and which he highly prizes, is that it brings with it no noxious weeds, which require vast labor to destroy them, or which exhaust the land. It freshens and endows the soil with capacity to produce the most luxuriant crops. All his lands in which he produces potatoes, turnips, and beets, are fertilized with kelp. No plant, he says, delights in it so much as the potato. Hence one of the reasons for his having so fine a crop, always free from the disease so destructive in other parts of the country.

In rating one load of this at a value equal to three of the other kind, he thinks he underrates it. Although these green manures have been in use since man began to till the land, they have not been systematically used. The idea of piling them up and leaving them to decompose before using them, he entirely repudiates, and shows beyond all doubt the advantage of using not only this, but all green manures, in their freshest possible state.

While upon our morning excursion, we went to the top of Bascom Hill, which is one of the highest promontories of his farm, and sat in the enjoyment of the breeze, in the shade of a rude summer-house erected for that purpose. From this point, farmer Webster can view his whole plantation. On its summit has been also planted a flag-staff a hundred feet high, with halliards for hoisting and lowering the American flag. I have spoken of this on another occasion.

On the Fourth of July, and on every important occasion, its stars and stripes are flung to the wind, and can be hailed by the mariner as he approaches the shores of the greatest nation on earth.

We have made up our minds, to use the language of Mr. Webster, that "there are some codfish off in the vicinity of South Rock, waiting to see us; and we are not the men to disappoint them."

Our men are carefully selected. Our bait and fishing-tackle are ready, and we believe our sport will be good.

Yours truly.

NOTES OF A TRIP TO NEW HAMPSHIRE—MR. WEBSTER IN COURT—A LETTER ABOUT HIMSELF—VERSES, &c.

Boston, Oct. 1849.

After having spent a week at Marshfield in fishing, sailing, driving on the beach, shooting, and in all the delights of that charming resort, we changed the scene.

Lady Emily Stuart Wortley, a daughter of the Duke of Rutland, who is a warm friend of Mr. Webster; Governor Everett, Mr. Gray, of Boston, and a number of others, whom Mr. Webster esteemed highly, had been with us, and the time passed gayly. I remember no week replete with more rational enjoyments. All persons were in good spirits.

On Saturday night Mr. Webster was kind enough to say to me, "You and I had better go for a week or ten days to New Hampshire, where it is still more

quiet than it is here;" and at the same time he smiled at the idea that Marshfield was under such circumstances a *quiet* place. I speak of what has been going on out of doors, in the fields, on the highways, and on the water. No one present will forget that week.

On Monday morning early, taking with us two faithful servants from Marshfield, we set out for Franklin, the home of his childhood. We dined in this city on our way, and, leaving directly after, we were at the old homestead at an early hour in the evening. The old doors grated on the hinges, as they were opened for us. The house is not occupied, except when he goes there, and that is only once, or, at most, twice a year, and then only for a short time. But he loves to go there, if only for a day.

John Taylor, who lives in the large farm-house near by, was there, and another servant was added to the number, so that every thing wanted for our happiness was made ready at once, or as soon as the slightest wish was expressed.

There we lived, eating and sleeping when we pleased, and enjoying ourselves as we pleased, in that really quiet place. I have on a former occasion described this farm.

Mr. Haddock, his distinguished nephew, came from Dartmouth college, to pay Mr. Webster a visit. He brought with him Mr. Kimball,—who has written a clever book about Italy—and they made the time pass very agreeably; and while we were there, a large number of the remote kindred,—by blood and marriage—of Mr. Webster, came in a party to make him

a visit. All rambled over the fields together. They came just after an early dinner, and stayed to tea. Mr. Webster was cheerful, and happy in the enjoyment of the company of his relations; he took pains to make them happy, and all carried away some little memento to keep. Hearing he was there, a great many young gentlemen and ladies, who were not relations, came in couples from some distance, to see the great defender of the Constitution. With those young people he was social, full of anecdotes, and as playful as the youngest of the party.

Every day we were there, the weather was uncommonly fine, and we drove over every road in that vicinity, and as we drove, Mr. Webster talked. Almost every brook, tree, rock, mount, valley, plain, house, or building, seemed to suggest some rich anecdote, which he told in his happiest manner. He pointed out the place of his birth, his marriage, his schoolhouses, the place where he studied the law, where he began to practise as an attorney, &c. The anecdotes in which he or his family were concerned, were full of interest. I listened attentively, hoping to bear them in mind; for every thing concerning him, or them, will some day be deeply interesting to the whole civilized world. He called often to pay his respects to his old friends and neighbors, hardly passing a door. They were all glad to see him, and he never failed to speak cheerfully and encouragingly to all we met. The events of his youth and of their young days were the topics of their conversation.

We spent some time every afternoon in the fields,

with the cattle and sheep. He designated some to be sent to market, for they were fat and ready for the shambles; and from droves passing his door, from the Canadas towards Boston, he purchased others to replenish his stock. All these were very agreeable incidents, and happily filled up the time we passed.

Having remained on the banks of the Merrimac as long as we intended, we shut up the old mansion house, with its precious relicts and pleasant associations. Leaving all things in the charge of his faithful John Taylor, we came to this place, where Mr. Webster is concerned as counsel in an important lawsuit about ready for trial. He is still a hard-working man in his profession. He looks to that as his chief source of income, though he has other sources.

By the by, speaking of lawsuits, reminds me of a letter Mr. Webster wrote last winter, while trying a cause—I think about a patent for a water-wheel, at all events there was something in it about a wheel. Mr. Taber and Mr. Choate, whom Mr. Webster highly esteemed, were engaged in the same cause.

The letter is not, of course, written for the public eye; but I have permission to use it, and make extracts from it. You will see from its half serious and half ironical character, how playful he can be, even while sitting at the bar waiting for his turn to be heard in a cause. He speaks of himself in it, as he supposes others will speak of him. To show you that he is not always cold and unbending, I will give you an extract from the letter.

For instance, he dated it in this manner:

Boston, Jan. 15, '49—Monday, 12 o'clock,
In C. Court, United States.

Marcy vs. *Sizer* being on trial, and *Tabero dicente, in longum;* and another snow storm appearing to be on the wing.

"My Dear Sir: We are in Court yet, and so shall be some days longer. We have the evidence in, and a discussion on the law, preliminary to our summing up, is now going on. I think it will consume the remainder of this day, if it lasts no longer. Mr. Choate will speak to-morrow, and I close immediately after. * * * * * * *

I am afraid my luck is always bad, and I fear is always to be so. * * * * (*Here Mr. Webster speaks of what he expects, and about which he fears he may be disappointed, and the consequences of it.*)

He then goes on to say:

"It will be said, or may be said hereafter, Mr. Webster was a laborious man in his profession and other pursuits. He never tasted of the bread of idleness. His profession yielded him, at some times, large amounts of income; but he seems never to have aimed at accumulation, and perhaps was not justly sensible of the importance and duty of preservation. Riches were never before his eyes as a leading object of regard. When young and poor, he was more earnest in struggling for eminence, than in efforts for making money; and in after life, reputation, public regard, and usefulness in high pursuits, mainly engrossed his attention. He always said, also, that he was never destined to be rich; that no such star presided over his birth; that he never obtained any thing by any attempts or efforts out of the line of

his profession; that his friends, on several occasions, induced him to take an intesest in business operations; that as often as he did so, loss resulted, till he used to say when spoken to on such subjects—

"Gentlemen, if you have any projects for money making, I pray you keep me out of them; my singular destiny mars every thing of that sort, and would be sure to overwhelm your own better fortunes." After this he says: "Mr. Webster was the author of that short biography of most good lawers, which has been ascribed to other sources, viz: that they '*lived well, worked hard, and died poor.*'"

And in the same letter he tells the following anecdote of himself:

Sitting one day at the Bar in Portsmouth, with an elderly member of the Bar, his friend, who enjoyed with sufficient indulgence that part of a lawyer's lot which consists "in living well," Mr. Webster made an epitaph, which would not be unsuitable—

"Natus consumere fruges;
Frugibus consumptis,
Hic Jacet.
R. C. S."

At the close of the letter, he added the following postcript, relative to the case on trial:

Half-past 2 *o'clock—Cessat* Taber; Choate *sequitur, in questione juris, Crastino die.*

"Tabert is learned, sharp and dry;
Choate, full of fancy, soaring high;
Both, lawyers of the best report,
True to their clients and the Court;
What sorrow doth a Christian feel,
Both should be '*broken on a wheel.*'"

Most persons who know but little of Mr. Webster, or have seen him only on great public occasions, when his brow was knit with thought, think he is always stern, and never unbends himself; but the truth is far otherwise. I have many playful letters like this, and I have always found him throughout all my travelling, sojourning and sports with him, one of the most agreeable men—one of the most amiable and playful men I ever met. No one has known him more intimately, or has seen him oftener, under every variety of circumstances for fifteen years.

Yours truly.

MR. WEBSTER MAKES HIS 7TH OF MARCH SPEECH.

WASHINGTON, March 8, 1850.

It happens to be my great and good luck to be here at this interesting stage in the progress of national events, and that I heard Mr. Webster's speech yesterday in the Senate. I have never been present on any occasion more interesting, or when the excitement ran higher, or on any to which my country will recur with more pleasure.

It had been known for several days that, on Thursday, Mr. Webster was to speak on the subjects which shake the foundations of our government. Mr. Calhoun, the greatest champion of the South, uttering sentiments which made many stout hearts tremble, had spoken on Monday, and his speech, like flashes of lightning, had been seen simultaneously in all parts of the surrounding country; consequently every man

or woman who could come to Washington with any hope of hearing Mr. Webster, was here. The day itself was glorious. At an early hour crowds of ladies and gentlemen moved along the avenue, and besieged every door of the Senate Chamber.

On the opening of the galleries they were immediately filled by the most fortunate, but the crowd without was not sensibly diminished. At 10 o'clock, two hours before the Senate was to convene, privileged persons, and other gentlemen and ladies with permits from Senators, began to pour into the Senate Chamber itself. Soon all the seats, except the chairs of the Senators, were occupied by ladies, whose smiles had won the privilege to enter, while the lobbies were crowded with members of the other house, and other eminent gentlemen, standing. Soon the Senators themselves made their appearance with more ladies—their wives, daughters and friends,—and then extra chairs, and sofas, and temporary seats, made with public documents piled one upon another, were called into use. The steps which surround the Vice-President's chair were occupied by ladies, while between every two Senators was sandwiched at least one pretty woman. In many instances gallantry so far overcame convenience that the Senators gave up their own seats to ladies, standing themselves in the crowd. There was not unoccupied a spot in that chamber, above or below, or in any avenue leading to it, where the sound of Mr. Webster's voice could be heard.

It was a magnificent sight. The assembled wisdom and beauty of this country never before beheld an audience of a higher grade.

At 12 o'clock the Vice-President took the chair, and a rap on the table with the ivory mallet before him called the Senate to order; then a prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Butler, and the minutes of the previous day were read by the Secretary. As soon as possible the Senate proceeded to the special order of the day, which was the subject of the Compromise. The Vice-President said that Mr. Walker, of Wisconsin, not having finished his speech the day before, was entitled to the floor. Thereupon Mr. Walker rose and said,—

"Mr. President: This vast audience has not assembled to hear me; and there is but one man, in my opinion, who can assemble such an audience. They expect to hear him, and I feel it to be my duty, as well as my pleasure, to give the floor therefore to the Senator from Massachusetts."

In a moment the buzz of a thousand voices and whispers was silenced, and as many bright and piercing eyes were turned to the seat of Mr. Webster. With that self-possession which so eminently distinguished him, he rose, passed his hand over his brow, bowed to the Vice-President, surveyed the multitude in his presence, expressed his obligations to the gentleman who had yielded the floor to him, and began by saying; "Mr. President, I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, not as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States." And he did so speak. He made, as you, and hundreds of thousands ere this reaches you will have read, one of the greatest speeches he ever uttered, if not the greatest of all.

It was my good fortune, by the courtesy of a Senator, to have a position on the floor of the Senate, exactly in front of the Speaker. I heard every word, and saw every gesture, and every look. In manner, as well perhaps as in matter, he surpassed himself. It was not an occasion for fluent oratory, as if it were a dinner speech, and therefore nothing of that sort was introduced. It was not a political harangue, made to excite the action or draw forth the plaudits of the people. It was none of those occasions on which we are apt to look for smart sayings, classical allusions, or many of the flowers of speech.

It was a grave occasion. It was before the Senate of the United States; treating the Senate as if it were what it ought to be, whether it is or not. The question was, substantially, "SHALL OR SHALL NOT THE UNION BE DISSOLVED?" When, in your time or mine, has arisen a question more momentous? Never, and Heaven grant that hereafter the question may never be asked. He spoke three hours; yet, what is extraordinary, he never looked at his notes, except to take from them copies of resolutions and several extracts from his former speeches, which he asked Mr. Green, of Rhode Island, whose seat is near his own, to read for him. He never transposed a sentence, or attempted to change the phraseology of an idea he had put forth; but his speech came on, as the Mississippi rolls from its fountains, increasing in depth and width till it terminates in the ocean.

I happen to know that it was his intention to occupy parts of two days. He supposed that, in the order of business, he should begin not far from two

o'clock, and might speak till the usual hour for the adjournment of the Senate, and that on the next morning he could finish what he had to say. He had notes prepared on half a sheet of letter paper, to which he would have referred, and he would have introduced several other topics, had Mr. Walker not given way, and had he not concluded thereupon to curtail his speech to what could be submitted on that morning. Hence the reason of his laying aside his notes, and making, as he did, an entirely extemporaneous speech, more brief than it would otherwise have been and purposely stripped of ornament.

His utterance was slow and his enunciation very distinct. His voice was generally raised just loud enough to be heard clearly in all parts of the chamber, and only occasionally rose to a pitch indicating excitement. As he approached the close he became a little warm, and the Senate felt and manifested the force of his sentiments. When the idea of dissolving the Union by peaceable secession came into his mind, his eyes appeared like two balls of fire, and his gesticulation indicated the strength of his patriotic impulses.

His whole manner spoke on this topic more than any words that he could command. Not a sound—not even the falling of a pin—broke the silence between his sentences. He stood erect, with his burning eyes fixed on Mr. Calhoun, to whom at this instant every eye was drawn, and to whom a hundred curling lips were bidding simultaneous defiance. I should like to see and study for hours a true picture of the Senate, taken at that moment. A more sublime *tableau vivant* I never expect to see.

There was one sentence on the subject of the proposed Southern Convention which roused the feelings of those venerating the name of Andrew Jackson, who swore "by the Eternal, this Union *must* and SHALL be preserved," and who lies in his tomb at Nashville.

"I believe," said Mr. Webster, "if the Convention meet at all, it will be for this purpose; for certainly, if they meet for any purpose hostile to the Union, they have been singularly inappropriate in their selection of a place. I remember, sir, that when the treaty was concluded between France and England at the peace at Amiens, a stern old Englishman and an orator, who disliked the terms of the peace as ignominious to England, said in the House of Commons, that if King William could know the terms of the treaty, he would turn in his coffin. Let me commend the saying, in all its emphasis and in all its force, to any body who shall meet at Nashville for the purpose of concerting measures for the overthrow of the Union of this country over the bones of Andrew Jackson."

The effect upon the audience was like a shock of electricity Here again the flashing eye and the glowing countenance, spoke more than any words that can be uttered.

He finished his speech by quoting the poet's description of the ornamental buckler of Achilles, and sat down. An enthusiastic burst of applause followed, though the enchanted hearers were in the presence of the Senate.

The Senators from all parts of the Chamber ad-

vanced, took him by the hand, and complimented him, and congratulated the country.

Mr. Benton told him that his speech would do more toward allaying the dangerous excitement, and for ever annihilating the idea of disunion, than all the propositions and schemes for compromise that had been or could be proposed from any quarter of the Union. Such language was addressed to him spontaneously from all parts, East, West, North, and South.

Sir Henry L. Bulwer took him by the hand and said: "Sir, that was one of the most finished specimens of oratory I have ever heard, and would do honor to any man I ever saw." This from one so distinguished as a scholar, and so well acquainted with all the great men of Europe, is a high compliment, to say the least of it.

The speech is reported this morning, and it reads well; but it is impossible to put it on paper as it appeared to those who heard it, and are capable of appreciating its merits.

Yours truly.

EDWARD EVERETT'S SPEECH ON THE DEATH OF WEBSTER, AT A MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I never rose to address an assembly when I was so little fit, body or mind, to perform the duty; and I never felt so keenly how inadequate are words to express such an emotion as manifestly pervades this meeting, in common with the whole country. There is but one voice that ever fell upon my ear which could do justice to such an occasion. That voice, alas! we shall hear no more forever. No more at the bar will it unfold the deepest mysteries of the law; no more will it speak conviction to admiring Senates; no more in this hall, the chosen theatre of his intellectual dominion, will it lift the soul as with a swell of the pealing organ, or stir the blood with the tones of a clarion, in the inmost chambers of the heart.

We are assembled, fellow-citizens, to pour out the fulness of our feelings; not in the vain attempt to do honor to the great man who is taken from us; most assuredly, not with the presumptuous hope on any part to magnify his name and his praise. They are spread throughout the land. From East to West,

and from North to South, (which he knew, as he told you, only that he might embrace them in the arms of loving patriotism,) a voice of lamentation has already gone forth, such as has not echoed throughout the land, since the death of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

You have listened, fellow-citizens, to the resolutions which have been submitted to you by Col. Heard. I thank him for offering them. It does honor to his heart, and to those with whom he acts in politics, and whom, I have no doubt, he well represents, that he has stepped forward so liberally on this occasion. The resolutions are emphatic, sir, but I feel that they do not say too much. No one will think they overstate the magnitude of our loss, who is capable of appreciating a character like that of Daniel Webster. Who of us, fellow-citizens, that has known him—that has witnessed the masterly skill with which he would pour the full effulgence of his mind on some contested legal and constitutional principle, till what seemed hard and obscure became as plain as day; who that has seen him, in all the glory of intellectual ascendency,

> Ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm

of parliamentary conflict; who that has drank of the pure, fresh air of wisdom and thought in the volumes of his writings; who, alas sir, that has seen him

> ——————in his happier hour
> Of social pleasure, ill-exchanged for power,

that has come within the benignant fascination of his smile, has felt the pressure of his hand, and tasted the sweets of his fireside eloquence, will think that the resolutions say too much?

No, fellow-citizens, we come together not to do honor to him but to do justice to ourselves. We obey an impulse from within. Such a feeling cannot be pent up in solitude. We must meet, neighbor with neighbor, citizen with citizen, man with man, to sympathize with each other. If we did not, mute Nature would rebuke us. The Granite Hills of New Hampshire, within whose shadow he drew his first breath, would cry shame: Plymouth Rock, which all but moved at his approach; the slumbering echoes of this Hall which rung so grandly with his voice, that "silent but majestic orator," which rose in no mean degree at his command on Bunker Hill,—all, all, would cry out at our degeneracy and ingratitude.

Mr. Chairman, I do not stand here to pronounce the eulogy of Mr. Webster; it is not necessary. Eulogy has already performed her first offices to his memory. As the mournful tidings have flashed through the country, the highest offices of Nation and State, the most dignified official bodies, the most prominent individuals, without distinction of party, the press of the country, the great voice of the land, all have spoken, and with one accord of opinion and feeling; with a unanimity that does honor at once to the object of this touching attestation, and to those who make it. The record of his life, from the humble roof beneath which he was born, (with no inheritance but poverty and an honored name,) up through the

arduous paths of manhood, which he trod with lion heart and giant steps, till they conducted him to the helm of state,—this stirring narrative, not unfamiliar before, has, with melancholy promptitude, within the last three days, been again sent abroad through the length and breadth of the land. It has spread from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Struggling poverty has been cheered afresh; honest ambition has been kindled, patriotic resolve has been invigorated; while all have mourned.

The poor boy at the village school has taken comfort as he has read that the time was when Daniel Webster, whose father told him he should go to college if he had to sell every acre of his farm to pay the expense, laid his head on the shoulder of that fond and discerning parent, and wept the thanks he could not speak. The pale student who ekes out his scanty support by extra toil has gathered comfort when reminded that the first jurist, statesman, and orator of the time, earned with his weary fingers by the midnight lamp, the means of securing the same advantages of education to a beloved brother. Every true-hearted citizen throughout the Union has felt an honest pride as he re-peruses the narrative, in reflecting that he lives beneath a Constitution and a Government under which such a man has been formed and trained, and that he himself is compatriot with him. He does more, sir; he reflects with gratitude that in consequence of what that man has done and written, and said—in the result of his efforts to strengthen the pillars of the Union—a safer inherit-

ance of civil liberty, a stronger assurance that these blessings will endure, will descend to his children.

I know, Mr. Mayor, how presumptuous it would be to dwell on any personal causes of grief, in the presence of this august sorrow which spreads its dark wings over the land. You will not, however, be offended, if by way of apology for putting myself forward on this occasion, I say that my relations with Mr. Webster run further back than those of almost any one in this community. They began the first year he came to live in Boston. When I was but ten or eleven years old, I attended a little private school in Short-street, (as it was then called; it is now the continuation of Kingston-street,) kept by the late Hon. Ezekiel Webster, the elder brother to whom I have alluded, and a brother worthy of his kindred. Owing to illness, or some other cause of absence on his part, the school was kept for a short time by Daniel Webster, then a student of law in Mr. Gore's office; and on this occasion, forty-seven or forty-eight years ago, and I a child of ten, our acquaintance, never interrupted, began.

When I entered public life, it was with his encouragement. In 1838, I acted, fellow-citizens, as your organ in the great ovation which you gave him in this hall. When he came to the Department of State, in 1841, it was on his recommendation that I, living in the utmost privacy beyond the Alps, was appointed to a very high office abroad; and, in the course of the last year, he gave me the highest proof of his confidence, in intrusting to me the care of conducting his works through the press. May I venture,

sir, to add, that in the last letter but one which I had the happiness to receive from him, alluding with a kind of sad presentiment, which I could not then fully appreciate, but which now unmans me, to these kindly relations of half a century, he adds: "We now and then see stretching across the heavens a clear, blue, cerulean sky, without cloud, or mist, or haze. And such appears to me our acquaintance from the time when I heard you for a week recite your lessons in the little school-house in Short-street, to the date hereof," 21st July, 1852.

Mr. Chairman, I do not dwell upon the traits of Mr. Webster's public character, however tempting the theme. Its bright developments in a long life of service are before the world; they are wrought into the annals of the country. Whoever in after times shall write the history of the United States for the last forty years, will write the life of Daniel Webster; and whoever writes the life of Daniel Webster, as it ought to be written, will write the history of the Union from the time he took a leading part in its concerns. I prefer to allude to those private traits which show the MAN, the kindness of his heart, the generosity of his spirit, his freedom from all the bitterness of party, the unaffected gentleness of his nature. In preparing the new edition of his works, he thought proper to leave almost everything to my discretion—as far as matters of taste are concerned. One thing only he enjoined upon me, with an earnestness approaching to a command. "My friend," said he, "I wish to perpetuate no feuds. I have sometimes, though rarely, and that in self-defence, been

led to speak of others with severity. I beg you, where you can do it without wholly changing the character of the speech, and thus doing essential injustice to me, to obliterate every trace of personality of this kind. I should prefer not to leave a word that would give unnecessary pain to any honest man, however opposed to me."

But I need not tell you, fellow-citizens, that there is no one of our distinguished public men whose speeches contain less occasion for such an injunction. Mr. Webster habitually abstained from the use of the poisoned weapons of personal invective or party odium. No one could more studiously abstain from all attempts to make a political opponent personally hateful. If the character of our congressional discussions has of late years somewhat declined in dignity, no portion of the blame lies at his door. With Mr. Calhoun, who, for a considerable portion of the time, was his chief antagonist, and with whom he was brought into most direct collision, he maintained friendly personal relations. He did full justice to his talent and character. You remember the feeling with which he spoke of him at the time of his decease. Mr. Calhoun, in his turn, entertained a just estimate of his great opponent's worth. He said, toward the close of his life, that of all the leading men of the day, "there was not one whose political course had been more strongly marked by a strict regard to truth and honor than Mr. Webster's."

One of the resolutions speaks of a permanent memorial to Mr. Webster. I do not know what is contemplated, but I trust that such a memorial there

will be. I trust that marble and brass, in the hands of the most skilful artists our country has produced, will be put in requisition to reproduce to us—and nowhere so appropriately as in this hall—the lineaments of that noble form and beaming countenance, on which we have so often gazed with delight. But, after all, fellow-citizens, the noblest monument may be found in his works. There he will live and speak to us and our children when brass and marble have crumbled into dust. As a repository of political truth and practical wisdom applied to the affairs of government, I know not where we shall find their equal. The works of Burke naturally suggest themselves to the mind as the only writings in our language that can sustain the comparison. Certainly no compositions in the English tongue can take precedence of those of Burke in depth of thought, reach of forecast, or magnificence of style. I think, however, it may be said, without partiality, either national or personal, that while the reader is cloyed at last with the gorgeous finish of Burke's diction, there is a severe simplicity, and a significant plainness, in Webster's writings that never tires. It is precisely this which characterizes the statesman in distinction from the political philosopher. In political disquisition elaborated in the closet, the palm must perhaps be awarded to Burke over all others, ancient or modern. But in the actual conflicts of the Senate, man against man, and opinion against opinion, in the noble war of debate, where measures are to be sustained and opposed, on which the welfare of the country and the peace of the world depend, where often the line of

intellectual battle is changed in a moment —no time to reflect—no leisure to cull words, or gather up illustrations—but all to be decided by a vote, although the reputation of a life may be at stake—all this is a very different matter, and here Mr. Webster was immeasurably the superior. Accordingly, we find historically (incredible as it sounds, and what I am ready to say I will not believe, though it is unquestionably true), that these inimitable orations of Burke, which one cannot read without a thrill of admiration to his fingers' ends, actually emptied the benches of Parliament.

Ah, gentlemen, it was very different with our great parliamentary orator. He not only chained to their seats willing, or, if there were such a thing, unwilling Senators, but the largest hall was too small for his audience. On the memorable 7th of March, 1850, when he was expected to speak upon the great questions then pending before the country, not only was the Senate Chamber thronged to its utmost capacity at an early hour, but all the passages to it, the rotunda of the Capitol, and even the avenues of the city, were alive with the crowds who were desirous of gaining admittance. Another Senator, not a political friend, was entitled to the floor. With equal good taste and feeling, he stated that "he was aware that great multitudes had not come together to hear him; and he was pleased to yield the floor to the only man, as he believed, who could draw together such an assembly." This sentiment, the effusion of parliamentary courtesy, will, perhaps, be found no

inadequate expression of what will finally be the judgment of posterity.

Among the many memorable words which fell from the lips of our friend just before they were closed for ever, the most remarkable are those which my friend Hilliard has just quoted,—"I STILL LIVE." They attest the serene composure of his mind; the Christian's heroism, with which he was able to turn his consciousness in upon himself, and explore, step by step, the dark passage (dark to us, but to him, we trust, already lighted from above), which connects this world with the world to come. But I know not, Mr. Chairman, what words could have been better chosen to express his relation to the world he was leaving—"I still live." This poor dust is just returning to the dust from which it was taken, but I feel that I live in the affections of the people to whose services I have consecrated my days. "I still live." The icy hand of death is already laid on my heart, but I shall still live in those words of counsel which I have uttered to my fellow-citizens, and which I now leave them as the last bequest of a dying friend.

Mr. Chairman, in the long and honored career of our lamented friend, there are efforts and triumphs which will hereafter fill one of the brightest pages of our history. But I greatly err if the closing scene —the height of the religious sublime—does not, in the judgment of other days, far transcend in interest the brightest exploits of public life. Within that darkened chamber at Marshfield was witnessed a scene of which we shall not readily find the parallel. The serenity with which he stood in the presence of

the King of Terrors, without trepidation or flutter, for hours and days of expectation: the thoughtfulness for the public business, when the sands were so nearly run out; the hospitable care for the reception of the friends who came to Marshfield; that affectionate and solemn leave separately taken, name by name, of wife, and children, and kindred, and friends, and family, down to the humblest members of the household; the designation of the coming day, then near at hand, when "all that was mortal of Daniel Webster would cease to exist!" the dimly recollected strains of the funeral poetry of Gray; the last faint flash of the soaring intellect; the feebly murmured words of Holy Writ repeated from the lips of the good physician, who, when all the resources of human art had been exhausted, had a drop of spiritual balm for the parting soul; the clasped hands; the dying prayers. Oh! my fellow-citizens, this is a consummation over which tears of pious sympathy will be shed ages after the glories of the forum and the senate are forgotten.

"His sufferings ended with the day,
Yet lived he at its close;
And breathed the long, long night away,
In statue-like repose.

"But ere the Sun, in all his state,
Illumed the Eastern skies,
He passed through glory's morning gate,
And walked in Paradise."

RUFUS CHOATE'S SPEECH BEFORE THE SUFFOLK BAR, BOSTON, ON OCCASION OF THE DECEASE OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR—I have been requested by the members of the Bar of this Court to present certain resolutions in which they have embodied, as they were able, their sorrow for the death of their beloved and illustrious member and countryman, Mr. Webster; their estimation of his character, life, and genius; their sense of the bereavement—to the country as to his friends—incapable of repair; the pride, the fondness—the filial and patriotic pride and fondness—with which they cherish and would consign to history, to cherish the memory of a great and good man.

And when I have presented these resolutions, my duty is done. He must have known Mr. Webster less and loved him less than your Honor, or than I have known and loved him, who can quite yet—quite yet, before we can comprehend that we have lost him for ever—before the first paleness with which the news of his death overspread our cheeks, has passed away; before we have been down to lay him in the Pilgrim soil he loved so well, till the heavens be no

more—he must have known and loved him less than we have done, who can come here quite yet, to recount the series of his service—to display with psychological exactness the traits of his nature and mind—to ponder and speculate on the secrets, on the marvellous secrets and sources of that vast power, which we shall see no more in action, nor aught in any degree resembling it, among men. These first moments should be given to grief. It may employ—it may promote a calmer mood to construct a more elaborate and less unworthy memorial.

For the purposes of this moment and place, indeed, no more is needed. What is there for this Court or for this Bar from me to learn, here and now of him? The year and the day of his birth; that birth-place on the frontier yet bleak and waste; the well of which his childhood drank—dug by that father of whom he said, "that through the fire and blood of seven years' revolutionary war, he shrank from no danger, no toil, no sacrifice, to serve his country, and to raise his children to a condition better than his own"—the elm-tree that father planted, fallen now, as father and son have fallen—that training of the giant infancy on Catechism and Bible, and Watts's version of the Psalms, and the traditions of Plymouth and Fort William and Mary, and the Revolution, and the age of Washington, and Franklin; on the banks of the Merrimack, flowing sometimes in flood and anger, from his secret springs in the crystal hills; the two district schoolmasters, Chase and Tappan; the village library; the dawning of the love and ambition of letters; the few months at Exeter

and Boscawen; the life of college; the probationary season of school-teaching; the clerkship in the Fryburg Registry of Deeds; his admission to the Bar, presided over by Judges like Smith, illustrated by practitioners such as Mason, where by the studies, in the contentions of nine years he laid the foundation of the professional mind; his irresistible attraction to public life; the oration on commerce; the Rockingham resolutions; his first term of four years' service in Congress, when by one bound he sprang to his place by the side of the foremost of the rising American statesmen; his removal to this State; and then the double and parallel current in which his life, studies, thoughts, and cares, have since flowed, bearing him to the leadership of the Bar, by universal acclaim; bearing him to the leadership of public life—last of that surpassing triumvirate, shall we say the greatest, the most widely known and admired—of all? These things, to their minutest details, are known and rehearsed familiarly. Happier than the younger Pliny, happier than Cicero, he has found his historian unsolicited, in his lifetime—and his countrymen have him all by heart

There is, then, nothing to tell you; nothing to bring to mind. And then, if I may borrow the language of one of his historians and friends—one of those through whose beautiful pathos the common sorrow uttered itself yesterday, in Faneuil Hall—"I dare not come here, and dismiss in a few summary paragraphs the character of one who has filled such a space in the history—who holds such a place in the heart of his country. It would be a disrespectful fa-

miliarity to a man of his lofty spirit, his great soul, his rich endowments, his long and honorable life, to endeavor thus to weigh and estimate them." A half hour of words, a handful of earth, for fifty years of great deeds, on high places!

But although the time does not require any thing elaborated and adequate—forbids it rather—some broken sentences of veneration and love may be indulged to the sorrow which oppresses us.

There presents itself, on the first, to any observation of Mr. Webster's life and character, a twofold eminence—eminence of the very highest rank in a twofold field of intellectual public display—the profession of the law, and the profession of statesmanship—of which it would not be easy to recall any parallel in the biography of illustrious men.

Without seeking for parallels, and without asserting that they do not exist, consider that he was by universal designation the leader of the general American Bar; and that he was also, by an equally universal designation, foremost of her statesmen living at his death—inferior to not one who has lived and acted since the opening of his own public life. Look at these aspects of his greatness separately,—and from opposite sides of the surpassing elevation, consider that his single career at the Bar may seem to have been enough to employ the largest faculties without repose—for a lifetime—and that if then and thus the "*infinitus forensium rerum labor*," would have conducted him to a mere professional reward—a Bench of Chancery or Law—the crown of the first of advocates—*jurisperitorum eloquentissimus*—to

the pure and mere fame of a great magistrate—that that would be as much as is allotted to the ablest in the distribution of fame. Even that half—if I may say so—of his illustrious reputation—how long the labor to win it—how worthy of all that labor! He was bred first in the severest school of the common law—in which its doctrines were expounded by Smith, and its administration shaped and directed by Mason,—and its foundation principles, its historical sources and illustrations, its connection with the parallel series of statutory enactments, its modes of reading, and the evidence of its truths,—he grasped easily and completely: and I have myself heard him say, that for many years while still at the bar, he tried more causes, and argued more questions of fact to the jury than perhaps any other member of the profession any where. I have heard from others, how even then he exemplified the same direct, clear, and forcible exhibition of proofs, and the reasonings appropriate to the proofs—as well as the same marvellous power of discerning instantly what we call the decisive points of the cause in law and fact—by which he was later more widely celebrated. This was the first epoch in his professional training.

With the commencement of his public life, or with his later removal to this State, began the second epoch of his professional training—conducting him through the gradation of the national tribunals to the study and practice of the more flexible, elegant, and scientific jurisprudence of Commerce and of Chancery, and to the grander and less fettered investigation of international jurisprudence

and constitutional law—and giving him to breathe the air of a more famous forum, in a more public presence, with more variety of competition; although he never met abler men, as I have heard him say, than some of those who initiated him in the rugged discipline of the Courts of New Hampshire; and thus, at length, by these studies, these labors, this contention, continued without repose, he came, now many years ago, to stand, *omnium consentu*, at the summit of the American Bar.

It is common, and it is easy, in the case of all in such position, to point out other lawyers, here and there, as possessing some special qualification or attainment more remarkably, perhaps, because more exclusively; to say of one that he has more cases in his recollection, at any given moment; or that he was earlier grounded in equity; or has gathered more black-letter, or civil law, or knowledge of Spanish or Western titles; and these comparisons were sometimes made with him. But when you sought a counsel of the first rate for the great cause, who would most surely discern and most powerfully expound the exact law required for the controversy, in season for use; who could most skilfully encounter the opposing law; under whose power of analysis, persuasion and display, the asserted right would assume the most forcible aspect before the intelligence of the Judge; who, if the inquiry became loaded with, or resolved into facts, could most completely develope and most irresistibly expose them; one "the Law's whole thunder born to wield"—when you sought such a counsel, and could have the choice, I think the uni-

versal profession would have turned to him. And this would be so in nearly every description of causes. In any department, some able men wield *civil* inquiries with a peculiar ability—some criminal. How lucidly and how deeply he unfolded a question of property, you all know. But then with what address, feeling, and pathos, he defended; with what dignity and crushing power, *accusatoria spiritu*, he prosecuted the accused of crime, few have seen; but none who have seen can ever forget it.

Some scenes there are—some Alpine eminences rising above the high table-land of such a professional life, to which, in the briefest tribute, we should love to follow him. We recall that day for an illustration, when he first announced with decisive display, what manner of man he was to the Supreme Court of the Nation. It was in 1818, and it was in the argument of the case of the Dartmouth College. William Pinkney was recruiting his great faculties, and replenishing that reservoir of professional and elegant acquisition in Europe. Samuel Dexter, "the honorable man, and the councillor, and the elegant orator," was in his grave. The boundless old school learning of Luther Martin; the silver voice and infinite analytical ingenuity and resources of Jones, the fervid genius of Emmett, pouring itself along *immenso ore:* the ripe and beautiful culture of Wirt and Hopkinson—the steel point unseen, not unfelt, beneath the foliage; these and such as these were left of that noble Bar. That day, Mr. Webster opened the case of Dartmouth College to a tribunal unsurpassed on

earth in all that gives illustration to a Bench of Law, not one of whom any longer survives.

One would love to linger on the scene, when, after a masterly argument of the law,—carrying, as we may now know, conviction to the general mind of the court, and vindicating and settling for his lifetime his place in that forum—he paused to enter, with an altered feeling, tone and manner, with these words, on his peroration: "I have brought my alma mater to this presence, that if she must fall, she may fall in her robes, and with dignity;" and then broke forth in that strain of sublime and pathetic eloquence, of which we know not much more than that in its progress, Marshall—the intellectual, the self controlled, the unemotioned—announced visibly the presence of the unaccustomed enchantment.

Other forensic triumphs crowd upon us—in other competition—with other issues. But I must commit them to the historian of constitutional jurisprudence.

And now, if this transcendent professional reputation were all of Mr. Webster, it might be practicable, though not easy, to find its parallel elsewhere—in our own, or in European or classical biography.

But when you consider that, side by side with this, there was growing up that other reputation—that of the first American statesman; that for thirty-three years—those embracing his most herculean works at the Bar—he was engaged as a member of either House, or in the highest Executive Departments, in the conduct of the largest national affairs; in the treatment of the largest national questions, in debate with the highest abilities of American public

life; conducting diplomatic intercourse in delicate relations with all classes of foreign powers; investigating whole classes of truths, totally unlike the truths of law, and resting on principles totally distinct,—and that here, too, he was wise, safe, controlling, trusted, the foremost man; that Europe had come to see in his life a guaranty for justice, for peace, for the best hope of civilization—and America to feel sure of her glory, her safety, as a great arm enfolded her;—you see how rare, how solitary almost was the actual greatness! Who anywhere has seen, as he had, the double fame, wore the double wreath of Murray and Chatham; or of Dunning and Fox; or of Erskine and Pitt; or of William Pinkney and Rufus King, in one transcendent superiority?

I cannot attempt to grasp and sum up the aggregate of the service of his public life at such a moment as this—and it is needless. That it comprised a term of more than thirty-three years. It produced a body of performances of which I may say generally, it was all which the first abilities of the country and time, employed with unexampled toil, stimulated by the noblest patriotism; in the highest places of the state—in the fear of God—in the presence of nations—could possibly compass.

He came into Congress after the war of 1812 had begun, and though probably deeming it unnecessary, according to the highest standards of public necessity in his private character—and objecting in his public to some of the details of the policy by which it was prosecuted, and standing by party ties in general opposition to the administration—he never breathed a

sentiment calculated to depress the tone of the public mind; to aid or comfort the enemy; to check or chill the stirrings of that new passionate, unquenchable spirit of nationality, which then was revealed, or kindled to burn till we go down to the tombs of States.

With the peace of 1815, his more cherished public labors began; and thenceforward has he devoted himself—the ardor of his civil youth—the energies of his maturest manhood—the autumnal wisdom of the ripened years—to the offices of legislation and diplomacy—of preserving the peace—keeping the honor—establishing the boundaries, and vindicating the neutral rights of his country—restoring a sound currency, and laying its foundation sure and deep—in upholding public credit—in promoting foreign commerce and domestic industry—in developing our uncounted material resources—giving the lake and the river to trade—and vindicating and interpreting the Constitution and the law. On all these subjects—on all measures practically in any degree affecting them—he has inscribed his opinions, and left the traces of his hand. Everywhere the philosophical and patriotic statesman and thinker will find that he has been before him, lighting the way—sounding the abyss. His weighty language—his sagacious warnings—his great maxims of empire—will be raised to view, and live to be deciphered when the final catastrophe shall lift the granite foundation in fragments from its bed.

In this connection, I cannot but remark to how extraordinary an extent had Mr. Webster, by his acts,

words, thoughts, or the events of his life, associated himself for ever in the memory of all of us with every historical incident, or at least with every historical epoch; with every policy, with every glory, with every great name and fundamental institution, and grand or beautiful image, which are peculiarly and properly American. Look backwards to the planting of Plymouth and Jamestown, to the various scenes of Colonial life in peace and war; to the opening, and march, and close of the Revolutionary drama—to the age of the Constitution—to Washington, and Franklin, and Adams, and Jefferson—to the whole train of causes from the Reformation downwards, which prepared us to be Republicans—to that other train of causes which led us to be Unionists; look round on field, workshop, and deck, and hear the music of labor rewarded, fed and protected—look on the bright sisterhood of the States, each singing as a seraph in her motion, yet blending in a common beam and swelling a common harmony—and there is nothing which does not bring him by some tie to the memory of America.

We seem to see his form and hear his deep, grave speech every where. By some felicity of his personal life; by some wise, deep or beautiful word spoken or written; by some service of his own, or some commemoration of the services of others, it has come to pass that "our granite hills, our inland seas, and prairies, and fresh, unbounded, magnificent wilderness;" our encircling ocean; the rock of the Pilgrims; our new-born sister of the Pacific; our popular assemblies; our free schools, all our cherished doctrines of education, and of the influence of reli-

gion, and material policy and law, and the Constitution, give us back his name. What American landscape will you look on—what subject of American interest will you study—what source of hope or of anxiety, as an American, will you acknowledge, that it does not recall him?

I shall not venture, in this rapid and general recollection of Mr. Webster, to attempt to analyze that intellectual power which all admit to have been so extraordinary, or to compare or contrast it with the mental greatness of others—in variety or degree—of the living or the dead; or even to attempt to appreciate exactly, and in reference to canons of art, his single attribute of eloquence. Consider, however, the remarkable phenomenon of excellence in three unkindred, one might have thought, incompatible forms of public speech—that of the forum, with its double audience of Bench and jury—of the halls of legislation—and of the most thronged and tumultuous assemblies of the people.

Consider further, that this multiform eloquence, exactly as his words fell, became at once so much accession to permanent literature, in the strictest sense—solid, attractive, and rich—and ask how often in the history of public life such a thing has been exemplified. Recall what pervaded all these forms of display, and every effort in every form, that union of marked intellect in its largest measure, which penetrates to the exact truth of the matter in hand by intuition, or by inference, and discerns everything which may make it intelligible, probable, and creditable to another, with an emotional and moral nature,

profound, passionate, and ready to kindle, and with imagination enough to supply a hundred-fold more of illustration and aggrandizement than his taste suffered him to accept—that union of greatness of soul with depth of heart, which made his speaking almost more an exhibition of character than of mere genius—the style not merely pure, clear Saxon, but so constructed, so numerous as far as becomes prose, so forcible, so abounding in unlabored felicities, the words so choice, the epithet so pictured, the matter absolute truth, or the most exact and spacious resemblance the human wit can devise, the treatment of the subject, if you have regard to the kind of truth he had to handle, political, ethical, legal, as deep, as complete as Paley's, or Locke's, or Butler's, or Alexander Hamilton's, of their subjects, yet that depth and that completeness of sense, made transparent as through crystal waters—all embodied in harmonious or well-composed periods; raised on winged language, vivified, fused and poured along in a tide of emotion, fervid and incapable to be withstood—recall the form, the eye, the brow, the tone of voice, the presence of the intellectual king of men—recall him thus, and in the language of Mr. Justice Story, commemorating Samuel Dexter, we may well rejoice that "we have lived in the same age, that we have listened to his eloquence, and been instructed by his wisdom."

I cannot leave the subject of his eloquence without returning to a thought I have advanced already. All that he has left—or the larger portion of all—is the record of spoken words. His works, as already collected, extend to many volumes—a library of rea-

son and eloquence, as Gibbon has said of Cicero's—but they are volumes of speeches only, or mainly; and yet who does not rank him as a great American author—an author as truly expounding, and as characteristically exemplifying, in a pure, genuine and harmonious English style, the mind, thought, point of view of objects, and essential nationality of his country, as any of our authors, professionally so denominated? Against the maxim of Mr. Fox, his speeches read well, and yet were good speeches, great speeches in the delivery. For so grave were they, so thoughtful and true—so much the eloquence of reason at last—so strikingly, always, they contrived to link the immediate topic with other and broader principles; ascending easily to widest generalizations—so happy was the reconciliation of the qualities which engage the attention of hearers, yet reward the perusal of students—so critically did they keep the right side of the line which parts eloquence from rhetoric, and so far do they rise above the penury of mere debate, that the general reason of the country has enshrined them at once and for ever among our classics.

It is a common belief that Mr. Webster was a various reader; and I think it is true, even to a greater degree than has been believed. In his profession of politics, nothing, I think, worthy of attention, had escaped him—nothing of the ancient or modern prudence, nothing which Greek or Roman, or European, or Universal History, or public Biography exemplified. I shall not soon forget with what admiration he spoke at an interview to which he admit-

ted me while in the Law School at Cambridge, of the politics and ethics of Aristotle, and of the mighty mind, which, as he said, seemed to have "thought through" all the great problems which form the discipline of social man. American history and American political literature, he had by heart—the long series of influences which trained us for representative and free government;—that other series of influences which moulded us into an united government; the colonial era; the age of controversy before the revolution; every scene and every person in that great tragic action; every question which has successively engaged our politics, and every name which has figured in them—the whole stream of our time was open, clear and present, even, to his eye.

Beyond his profession of politics, so to call it, he had been a diligent and choice reader, as his extraordinary style in part reveals, and I think the love of reading would have gone with him, to a later and riper age, if to such an age it had been the will of God to reserve him. This is no place or time to appreciate this branch of his acquisitions; but there is an interest inexpressible in knowing who were any of the chosen from among the great dead, in the library of such a man. Others may correct me, but I should say of that interior and narrower circle were Cicero, Virgil, Shakspeare, Bacon, Milton, Burke, Johnson—to whom I hope it is not pedantic nor fanciful to say, I often thought his nature presented some resemblance; the same abundance of the general propositions required for explaining a difficulty and returning a sophism, copiously and promptly occurring to him—the same

kindness of heart and wealth of sensibility; under a manner, of course, more courteous and gracious, yet more sovereign; the same sufficient, yet not predominant imagination, stooping ever to truth, and giving affluence, vivacity and attraction to a powerful, correct and weighty style of prose.

I cannot leave his life and character, without selecting and dwelling a moment on one or two of his traits, or virtues, or facilities, a little longer. There is a collective impression made by the whole of an eminent person's life, beyond and other than, and apart from, that which the mere general biographer would afford the means of explaining. There is an influence of a great man, derived from things, indescribable almost, or incapable of enumeration, or singly insufficient to account for it, but through which his spirit transpires, and his individuality goes forth on the contemporary generation. And thus, I should say, one great tendency of his life and character was, to elevate the whole tone of the public mind. He did this, indeed, not merely by example; he did it by dealing, as he thought, truly and in manly fashion, with that public mind. He evinced his love for the people, not so much by honeyed phrases, as by good counsels and useful service—*vera pro gratis.*

He showed how he appreciated them, by submitting sound arguments to their understandings, and right motives to their free will. He came before them less with flattery than with instruction; less with a vocabulary larded with the words humanity and philanthropy, and progress and brotherhood, than with a scheme of politics, an educational, social and

governmental system, which would have made them prosperous, happy and great.

What the Greek historians said of Pericles, we all feel might be said of him—"He did not so much follow as lead the people, because he framed not his words to please them, like one who is gaining power by unworthy means, but was able, and dared on the strength of high character, even to brave their anger by contradicting their will."

I should indicate it as another influence of his life, acts and opinions, that it was in an extraordinary degree uniformly and liberally conservative. He saw with the vision as of a prophet, that if our system of united government can be maintained till a nationality shall be generated of due intensity and due comprehension, a glory indeed millennial, a progress without end—a triumph of humanity hitherto unseen—were ours, and therefore he addressed himself to maintain that united government.

Standing on the rock of Plymouth, he bid distant generations hail, and saw them rising—demanding life—"impatient from the skies," from what then were "fresh, unbounded, magnificent wildernesses"—from the shore of the great tranquil sea—not yet become ours. But observe to what he would welcome them. It is "to good government." It is to "treasures of science and delights of learning." It is to the "sweets of domestic life—the immeasurable good of a rational existence—the immortal hopes of Christianity—the light of everlasting truth."

It will be happy, if the wisdom and temper of his administration of our foreign affairs, shall preside

in the time which is at hand. Sobered, instructed by the examples and warnings of all the past, he yet gathered, from the study and comparison of all the eras, that there is a silent progress of the race without return, to which the counsellings of history are to be accommodated by a wise philosophy. More than, or as much as that of any of our public characters, his statesmanship was one which recognized a Europe, an Old World, but yet grasped the capital idea of the American position, and deduced from it the whole fashion and color of its policy; which discerned that we are to play a high part in human affairs, but discerned also, what part it is, peculiar, distant, distinct and grand, as our hemisphere; an influence, not a contact—the stage—the drama—the catastrophe, all but the audience, all our own, and if ever he felt himself at a loss, he consulted, reverently, the genius of WASHINGTON.

In bringing these memories to a conclusion, for I omit many things because I dare not trust myself to speak of them—I shall not be misunderstood or give offence, if I hope that one other trait in his public character, one doctrine, rather, of his political creed, may be remembered and appreciated. It is one of the two fundamental precepts in which Plato, as expounded by the great master of Latin eloquence, and reason and morals, comprehends the duty of those who share in the conduct of the State, "*Ut quæcunque agunt, TOTUM corpus reipublicæ curent nedum partem aliquam tuentur, reliquas deserant,*" that they comprise in their care, the whole body of the republic, nor keep one part and desert another.

He gives the reason, one reason, of the precept, "*Qui autem parti civium consulant, partem negligunt rem perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt seditionem atque discordiam.*" The patriotism which embraces less than the whole, induces sedition and discord, the last evil of the State.

How profoundly he had comprehended this truth —with what persistency—with what passion, from the first hour he became a public man to the last beat of the great heart, he cherished it—how little he accounted the good, the praise, the blame—of this locality or that—in comparison of the larger good and the general and thoughtful approval of his own, and our, whole America,—she this day feels and announces. Wheresoever a drop of her blood flows in the veins of man, this trait is felt and appreciated. The hunter beyond Superior—the fisherman on the deck of the nigh night-foundered skiff—the sailor on the uttermost sea—will feel, as he hears these tidings, that the protection of a sleepless, all-embracing, parental care, is withdrawn from him for a space—and that his pathway henceforward, is more solitary and less safe than before.

But I cannot pursue these thoughts. Among the eulogists who have just uttered the eloquent sorrow of England at the death of the great Duke—one has employed an image and an idea, which I venture to modify and appropriate.

"The Northman's image of death is finer than that of other climes; no skeleton, but a gigantic figure, that envelopes men within the massive folds of its dark garment. Webster seems so enshrouded

from us as the last of the mighty three, themselves following a mighty series; the greatest closing the procession. The robe draws round him, and the era is past."

Yet how much there is which that all-ample fold shall not hide; the recorded wisdom; the great example; the assured immortality.

They speak of moments!

> Nothing need cover his high fame but heaven,
> No pyramids set off his memories,
> But the eternal substance of his greatness,
> To WHICH I LEAVE HIM.

EULOGY PRONOUNCED IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, NOVEMBER 30, 1852, BY GEORGE S. HILLARD, ESQ.

It is now twenty-six years since the heart of the nation was so deeply moved by the death of two great founders of the Republic, on the fiftieth anniversary of the day when its independence was declared. Then, for the first time, these consecrated walls wore the weeds of mourning. Then the multitude that filled this hall were addressed by a man whose thoughts rose without effort to the height of his great theme. He seemed inspired by the occasion, and he looked and spoke like one on whom the mantle of some ascended prophet had at that moment fallen. He lifted up and bore aloft his audience on the wings of his mighty eloquence. His words fell upon his hearers with irresistible subduing power, and their hearts poured themselves forth in one deep and strong tide of patriotic and reverential feeling.

And now he, that was then so full of life and power, has gone to join the patriots whom he commemorated. Webster is no more than Adams and Jefferson. The people, that then came to listen to him, are now here to mourn for him. His voice of wisdom and eloquence is silent. The arm on which

a nation leaned is stark and cold. The heroic form is given back to the dust. We that delighted to honor him in life, are now here to honor him in death. One circle of duties is ended and another is begun. We can no longer give him our confidence, our support, our suffrages; but memory and gratitude are still left to us. As he has not lived for himself alone, so he has not died for himself alone. The services of his life are crowned and sealed with the benediction of his death. So long as a man remains upon earth, his life is a fragment. It is exposed to chance and change, to the shocks of fate and the assaults of trial. But the end crowns the work. A career that is closed becomes a firm possession and a completed power. The arch is imperfect till the hand of death has fixed the keystone.

The custom of honoring great public benefactors by these solemn observances is natural, just and wise. But the tributes and testimonials which we offer to departed worth are for the living, and not for the dead. Eulogies, monuments, and statues can add nothing to the peace and joy of that serene sphere into which the great and good, who have finished their earthly career, have passed. But these expressions and memorials do good to those from whom they flow. They lift us above the region of low cares and selfish struggles. They link the present to the past, and the world of sense to the world of thought. They break the common course of life with feelings brought from a higher region. Who can measure the effect of a scene like this—these mourning walls—these saddened faces—those solemn strains of music?

The seed of a deep emotion here planted may ripen into the fruit of noble action.

A great man is a gift, in some measure, a revelation of God. A great man, living for high ends, is the divinest thing that can be seen on earth. The value and interest of history are derived chiefly from the lives and services of the eminent men whom it commemorates. Indeed, without these, there would be no such thing as history, and the progress of a nation would be as little worth recording, as the march of a trading caravan across a desert. The death of Mr. Webster is too recent, and he was taken away too suddenly from a sphere of wide and great influence, for the calm verdict of history to be passed upon him, and an accurate gauge to be taken of his works and claims. But all men, whatever may have been the countenance they turned towards him in life, now feel that he was a man of the highest order of greatness, and that whatever of power, faculty and knowledge there was in him, was given freely, heartily, and during a long course of years, to the service of his country. He, who in the judgment of all, was a great man and a great patriot, not only deserves these honors at our hands, but it would be disgraceful in us to withhold them. We among whom he lived, who felt the power of his magnificent presence,—his brow, his eyes, his voice, his bearing,—can never put him anywhere but in the front rank of the great men of all time. In running along the line of statesmen and orators, we light upon the name of no one to whom we are willing to admit his inferiority.

The theory that a great man is merely the pro-

duct of his age, is rejected by the common sense and common observation of mankind. The power that guides large masses of men, and shapes the channels in which the energies of a great people flow, is something more than a mere aggregate of derivative forces. It is a compound product, in which the genius of the man is one element, and the sphere opened to him by the character of his age and the institutions of his country, is another. In the case of Mr. Webster, we have a full co-operation of these two elements. Not only did he find opportunities for his great powers, but the events of his life, and the discipline through which he passed, were well fitted to train him up to that commanding intellectual stature, and perfect intellectual symmetry, which have made him so admirable, so eminent, and so useful a person.

He was fortunate in the accident, or rather the providence, of his birth. His father was a man of uncommon strength of mind and worth of character, who had served his country faithfully in trying times, and earned in a high degree the respect and confidence of his neighbors—a man of large and loving heart, whose efforts and sacrifices for his children were repaid by them with most affectionate veneration. The energy and good sense of his mother exerted a strong influence upon the minds and characters of her children. He was born to the discipline of poverty; but a poverty such as braces and stimulates, not such as crushes and paralyzes. The region in which his boyhood was passed was new and wild, books were not easy to be had, schools were only an occasional privilege, and intercourse with the more settled parts of

the country was difficult and rare. But this scarcity of mental food and mental excitement had its advantages, and his training was good, however imperfect his teaching might have been. His labors upon the farm helped to form that vigorous constitution which enabled him to sustain the immense pressure of cares and duties laid upon him in after years. Such books as he could procure were read with the whole heart and the whole mind. The conversation of a household, presided over by a strong-minded father, and a sensible, loving mother, helped to train the faculties of the younger members of the family. Nor were their winter evenings wanting in topics which had a fresher interest than any which books could furnish. There were stirring tales of the revolutionary struggle and the old French war, in both of which his father had taken a part, with moving traditions of the hardships and perils of border life, and harrowing narratives of Indian captivity, all of which sunk deep into the heart of the impressible boy. The ample page of nature was ever before his eyes, not beautiful or picturesque, but stern, wild and solitary, covered with a primeval forest: in winter, swept over by tremendous storms, but in summer, putting on a short-lived grace, and in autumn, glowing with an imperial pomp of coloring. In the deep, lonely woods, by the rushing streams, under the frosty stars of winter, the musing boy gathered food for his growing mind. There to him the mighty mother unveiled her awful face, and there we may be sure that the dauntless child stretched forth his hands and smiled. We feel a pensive pleasure in calling up the image of this slender, dark-

browed, bright-eyed youth, going forth in the morning of life to sow the seed of future years. A loving brother, and a loving and dutiful son, he is cheerful under privation, and patient under restraint. Whatever work he finds to do, whether with the brain or the hand, he does it with all his might. He opens his mind to every ray of knowledge that breaks in upon him. Every step is a progress, and every blow removes an obstacle. Onward, ever onward, he moves; borne "against the wind, against the tide," by an impulse self-derived and self-sustained. He makes friends, awakens interest, inspires hopes. Thus, with these good angels about him, he passes from boyhood to youth, and from youth to early manhood. The school and the college have given him what they had to give; an excellent professional training has been secured; and now, with a vigorous frame and a spirit patient of labor, with manly self-reliance, and a heart glowing with generous ambition and warm affections, the man, Daniel Webster, steps forth into the arena of life.

From this point his progress follows the natural law of growth, and every advance is justified and explained by what had gone before. For every thing that he gains he has a perfect title to show. He is borne on by no fortunate accident. The increase of his influence keeps no more than pace with the growth of his mind and the development of his character. He is diligent in his calling, and faithful to the interests intrusted to his charge. His professional bearing is manly and elevated. He has the confidence of the Court, and the ear of the jury, and has fairly

earned them both. His business increases, his reputation is extended, and he becomes a marked man. He is not only equal to every occasion, but he always leaves the impression of having power in reserve, and of being capable of still greater efforts. What he does is judicious, and what he says is wise. He is not obliged to retrace his steps or qualify his statements. He blends the dignity and self-command of mature life with the ardor and energy of youth. To such a man, in our country, public life becomes a sort of necessity. A brief service in Congress wins for him the respect and admiration of the leading men of the country, who see with astonishment in a young New-Hampshire lawyer, the large views of a ripe statesman, and a generous and comprehensive tone of discussion, free alike from party bias, and sectional narrowness. A removal to the metropolis of New-England brings increase of professional opportunity, and in a few years he stands at the head of the Bar of the whole country. Public life is again thrust upon him, and at one stride he moves to the foremost rank of influence and consideration. His prodigious powers of argument and eloquence, freely given to an administration opposed to him in politics, crush a dangerous political heresy, and kindle a deeper national sentiment. The whole land rings with his name and praise, and foreign nations take up and prolong the sound. Every year brings higher trusts, weightier responsibilities, wider influence, until his country reposes in the shadow of his wisdom, and the power that proceeds from his mind and character be-

comes one of the controlling forces in the movements and relations of the civilized world.

To trace, step by step, the incidents of such a career, would far transcend the limits of a discourse like this, and of all places, it is least needed here. Judging of him by what he was, as well as by what he did, and analyzing the aggregate of his powers, we observe that his life moves in three distinct paths of greatness. He was a great lawyer, a great statesman, and a great writer. The gifts and training, which make a man eminent in any one of these departments, are by no means identical with those which make him eminent in any other. Very few have attained high rank in any two; and the distinction which Mr. Webster reached in all the three is almost without parallel in history.

He was, from the beginning, more or less occupied with public affairs, and he continued to the last to be a practising lawyer; but as regards these two spheres of action, his life may be divided into two distinct portions. From his twenty-third to his forty-first year, the practice of the law was his primary occupation and interest, but from the latter period to his death, it was secondary to his labors as a legislator and statesman. Of his eminence in the law—meaning the law as administered in the ordinary tribunals of the country, without reference, for the present, to constitutional questions—there is but one opinion among competent judges. Some may have excelled him in a single faculty or accomplishment, but in the combination of qualities which the law requires, no man of his time was on the whole equal

to him. He was a safe counsellor and a powerful advocate—thorough in the preparation of causes and judicious in the management of them—quick, far-seeing, cautious and bold. His addresses to the jury were simple, manly, and direct; presenting the strong points of the case in his strong way, appealing to the reason and the conscience, and not to passions and prejudices, and never weakened by over-statement. He laid his own mind fairly alongside that of the jury, and won their confidence by his sincere way of dealing with them. He had the grace to cease speaking when he had come to an end. His most conspicuous power was his clearness of statement. He threw upon every subject a light like that of the sun at noonday. His mind, by an unerring instinct, separated the important from the unimportant facts in a complicated case, and so presented the former, that he was really making a powerful and persuasive argument, when he seemed to be telling only a plain story in a plain way. The transparency of the stream veiled its depth, and its depth concealed its rapid flow. His legal learning was accurate and perfectly at command, and he had made himself master of some difficult branches of law, such as special pleading and the law of real property; but the memory of some of his contemporaries was more richly stored with cases. From his remarkable powers of generalization, his elementary reading had filled his mind with principles, and he examined the questions that arose by the light of these principles, and then sought in the books for cases to confirm the views which he had reached by reflection. He never

resorted to stratagems and surprises, nor did he let his zeal for his client run away with his self-respect. His judgment was so clear, and his moral sense so strong, that he never could help discriminating between a good cause and a bad one, nor betraying to a close observer when he was arguing against his convictions. His manner was admirable, especially for its repose—an effective quality in an advocate, from the consciousness of strength which it implies. The uniform respect with which he treated the Bench should not be omitted, in summing up his merits as a lawyer.

The exclusive practice of the law is not held to be the best preparation for public life. Not only does it invigorate without expanding—not only does it narrow at the same time that it sharpens—but the custom of addressing juries begets a habit of overstatement, which is a great defect in a public speaker, and the mind that is constantly occupied in looking at one side of a disputed question, is apt to forget that it has two. Great minds triumph over these influences, but it is because they never fail, sooner or later, to overleap the formal barriers of the law. Had Mr. Webster been born in England, and educated to the bar, his powers could never have been confined to Westminster Hall. He would have been taken up and borne into Parliament by an irresistible tide of public opinion. Born where he was, it would have been one of the greatest misfortunes, if he had narrowed his mind and given up to his clients the genius that was meant for the whole country and all time. Admirably as he put a case to a jury, or

argued it to the court, it was impossible not to feel that in many instances an inferior person would have done it nearly or quite as well; and sometimes the disproportion between the man and his work was so great that it reminded one of the task given to Michael Angelo, to make a statue of snow.

His advancing reputation, however, soon led him into a class of cases, the peculiar growth of the institutions of his country, and admirably fitted to train a lawyer for public life, because, though legal in their form, they involve great questions of politics and government. The system under which we live is, in many respects, without a precedent. Singularly complicated in its arrangements, embracing a general government of limited and delegated powers, organized by an interfusion of separate sovereignties, all with written Constitutions to be interpreted and reconciled, the imperfection of human language and the strength of human passion, leaving a wide margin for warring opinions, it is obvious to any person of political experience that many grave questions, both of construction and conflicting jurisdiction must arise, requiring wisdom and authority for their adjustment. Especially must this be the case in a country like ours, of such great extent, with such immense material resources, and inhabited by so enterprising and energetic a people. It was a fortunate, may we not say a providential circumstance, that the growth of the country began to devolve upon the Supreme Court of the United States the consideration of this class of questions, just at the time when Mr. Webster, in his ripe manhood, was able to give them the

benefit of his extraordinary powers of argument and analysis. Previous to the Dartmouth College case, in 1818, not many important constitutional questions had come before the Court, and, since that time, the great lawyer, who then broke upon them with so astonishing a blaze of learning and logic, has exerted a commanding influence in shaping that system of constitutional law—almost a supplementary Constitution—which has contributed so much to our happiness and prosperity. Great as is our debt of gratitude to such judges as Marshall and Story, it is hardly less great to such a lawyer as Mr. Webster. None would have been more ready than these eminent magistrates, to acknowledge the assistance they had derived from his masterly arguments.

In the discussion of constitutional questions, the mind of this great man found a most congenial employment. Here, books, cases, and precedents, are of comparatively little value. We must ascend to first principles, and be guided by the light of pure reason. Not only is a chain of logical deduction to be fashioned, but its links must first be forged. Geometry itself hardly leads the mind into a region of more abstract and essential truth. In these calm heights of speculation and analysis, the genius of Mr. Webster moved with natural and majestic sweep. Breaking away from precedents and details, and soaring above the flight of eloquence, it saw the forms of truth in the colorless light and tranquil air of reason. When we dream of intelligence higher than man, we imagine their faculties exercised in serene inquisitions like these,—not spurred by ambition,—not kin-

dled by passion,—roused by no motive but the love of truth, and seeking no reward but the possession of it.

The respect which has been paid to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, is one of the signs of hope for the future, which are not to be overlooked in our desponding moods. The visitor in Washington sees a few grave men, in an unpretending room, surrounded by none of the symbols of command. Some one of them, in a quiet voice, reads an opinion in which the conflicting rights of sovereign States are weighed and adjusted, and questions, such as have generally led to exhausting wars, are settled by the light of reason and justice. This judgment goes forth, backed by no armed force, but commanded by the moral and intellectual authority of the tribunal which pronounces it. It falls upon the waves of controversy with reconciling, subduing power; and haughty sovereignties, as at the voice of some superior intelligence, put off the mood of conflict and defiance, and yield a graceful obedience to the calm decrees of central justice. There is more cause for national pride in the deference paid to the decisions of this august tribunal, than in all our material triumphs; and so long as our people are thus loyal to reason and submissive to law, it is a weakness to despair.

The Dartmouth College case, which has been al ready mentioned, may be briefly referred to again, since it forms an important era in Mr. Webster's life. His argument in that case stands out among his other arguments, and his speech in reply to Mr. Hayne, among his other speeches. No better argu-

ment has been spoken in the English tongue, in the memory of any living man, nor is the child that is born to-day, likely to live to hear a better. Its learning is ample, but not ostentatious; its logic irresistible; its eloquence vigorous and lofty. I have often heard my revered and beloved friend, Judge Story, speak with great animation of the effect he then produced upon the Court. "For the first hour," said he, "we listened to him with perfect astonishment; for the second hour, with perfect delight; for the third hour, with perfect conviction." It is not too much to say that he entered the Court on that day a comparatively unknown name, and left it with no rival but Pinckney. All the words he spoke on that occasion have not been recorded. When he had exhausted the resources of learning and logic, his mind passed naturally and simply into a strain of feeling not common to the place. Old recollections and early associations came over him, and the vision of his youth rose up. The genius of the institution where he was nurtured, seemed standing by his side in weeds of mourning, with a countenance of sorrow. With suffused eyes and faltering voice, he broke into an unpremeditated strain of emotion, so strong and so deep, that all who heard him were borne along with it. Heart answered to heart as he spoke, and when he had ceased, the silence and tears of the impassive Bench, as well as the excited audience, were a tribute to the truth and power of the feeling by which he had been inspired.

With his election to Congress, from the city of Boston, in 1822, the great labors and triumphs of his

life begin. From that time until his death, with an interval of about two years after leaving President Tyler's Cabinet, he was constantly in the public service, as Representative, Senator, or Secretary of State. In this period, his biography is included in the history of his country. Without pausing to dwell upon the details, and looking at his public life as a whole, let us examine its leading features and guiding principles, and inquire upon what grounds he enjoyed our confidence and admiration, while living, and is entitled to our gratitude when dead.

Public men, in popular governments, are divided into two great classes—statesmen and politicians. The difference between them is like the difference between the artist and the mechanic. The statesman starts with original principles, and is propelled by a self-derived impulse. The politician has his course to choose, and puts himself in a position to make the best use of the forces which lie outside of him. The statesman's genius sometimes fails in reaching its proper sphere, from the want of the politician's faculty; and, on the other hand, the politician's intellectual poverty is never fully apprehended till he has contrived to attain an elevation which belongs only to the statesman. The statesman is often called upon to oppose popular opinion, and never is his attitude nobler than when so doing; but the sagacity of the politician is shown in seeing, a little before the rest of the world, how the stream of popular feeling is about to turn, and so throwing himself upon it, as to seem to be guiding it, while he is only propelled by it.

A statesman makes the occasion, but the occasion makes the politician.

Mr. Webster was pre-eminently a statesman. He rested his claims upon principles; and by these he was ready to stand or fall. In looking at the endowments which he brought to the service of his country, a prominent rank is to be assigned to that deep and penetrating wisdom which gave so safe a direction to his genius. His imagination, his passion and his sympathies were all kept in subordination to this sovereign power. He saw things as they are, neither magnified nor discolored by prejudice or prepossession. He heard all sides, and did not insist that a thing was true because he wished it to be true, or because it seemed probable to his first inquiry. His post of observation was the central and fixed light of reason, from which all wandering and uncertain elements were at last discerned in their just relations and proportions. The functions of government did not, in his view, lie in the regions of speculation or emotion. It was "a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants." The ends of government are, indeed, ever identical; but the means used to attain them are various. The practical statesman must aim, not at the best conceivable, but the best attainable good. Thus, Mr. Webster always recognized and accepted the necessities of his position. He did not hope against hope, nor waste his energies in attempting the impossible. Living under a government in which universal suffrage is the ultimate propelling force, he received the expressed sense of the people as a fact, and not an hypothesis. Like all men who are

long in public life under popular institutions, he incurred the reproach of inconsistency; a reproach not resting upon any change of principle—for he never changed his principles—but upon the modification of measures and policy which every enlightened statesman yields to the inevitable march of events and innovations of time.

Nor was he less remarkable for the breadth and comprehensiveness of his views. He knew no North, no South, no East, no West. His great mind and patriotic heart embraced the whole land with all its interests and all its claims. He had nothing of partisan narrowness or sectional exclusiveness. His point of sight was high enough to take in all parts of the country, and his heart was large enough and warm enough to love it all, to cling to it, to live for it, or die for it. Nothing is more characteristic of greatness than this capacity of enlarged and generous affections. No public man ever earned more fully the title of a national, an American statesman. No heart ever beat with a higher national spirit than his. The honor of his country was as dear to him as the faces of his children. Where that was in question, his great powers blazed forth like a flame of fire in its defence. Never were his words more weighty, his logic more irresistible, his eloquence more lofty—never did his mind move with more majestic and victorious flight—than when vindicating the rights of his country, or shielding her from unjust aspersions.

It is a hasty and mistaken judgment to guage the merits of a statesman, under popular institutions, by the results which he brings about and the measures

which he carries through. His opportunities in this respect will depend, generally, upon the fact whether he happens to be in the majority or the minority. How much would be taken from the greatness of one of the greatest of statesmen, Mr. Fox, if this test were applied to him. The merits of a statesman are to be measured by the good which he does, by the evil which he prevents, by the sentiments which he breathes into the public heart, and the principles he diffuses through the public mind. Mr. Webster did not belong to that great political party which, under ordinary circumstances, and when no exceptional elements have been thrown in, have been able to command a majority in the whole nation, and upon which the responsibility of governing the country has been consequently thrown. Thus, for the larger part of his public life, he was in the minority. But a minority is as important an element, in carrying on a representative government, as a majority; and he never transcended its legitimate functions. His opposition was open, manly, and conscientious; never factious, never importunate. He stated fairly the arguments to which he replied. He did not stoop to personality, or resort to the low and cheap trick of impugning the motives or characters of his opponents. He has earned the respect which the Democratic party, to their honor be it spoken, have shown to his memory. He was a party man, to this extent—he believed that under a popular government, it was expedient that men of substantially the same way of thinking in politics should act together, in order to accomplish any general good, but he never gave up to his party what

was meant for his country. When the turn of the tide threw upon him the initiative of measures, no man ever showed a wiser spirit of legislation or a more just and enlightened policy of statesmanship. He combined what Bacon calls the logical with the mathematical part of the mind. He could judge well of the mode of attaining any end, and estimate, at the same time, the true value of the end itself. His powers were by no means limited to attack and defence, but he had the organizing and constructing mind, which shapes and fits a course of policy to the wants and temper of a great people.

His influence as a public man extends over the last forty years, and, during that period, what is there that does not bear his impress? Go where we will, upon land or sea—from agriculture to commerce, and from commerce to manufactures—turn to domestic industry, to foreign relations, to law, education and religion—everywhere we meet the image and superscription of this imperial mind. The Ashburton treaty may stand as a monument of the good he did. His speech in reply to Mr. Hayne may be cited as a proof of the evil he prevented; and, for this reason, while its whole effect can never be measured, its importance can hardly be overrated. Probably no discourse ever spoken by man had a wider, more prominent, and more beneficial influence. Not only did it completely overthrow a most dangerous attack on the Constitution, but it made it impossible for it ever to be renewed. From that day forward the specious front of nullification was branded with treason. If we estimate the claims of a public man

by his influence upon the national heart, and his contributions to a high-toned national sentiment, who shall stand by the side of Mr. Webster? Where is the theory of constitutional liberty better expounded, and the rules and conditions of national well-being and well-doing better laid down than in his speeches and writings? What books should we so soon put into the hands of an intelligent foreigner, who desired to learn the great doctrines of government and administration on which the power and progress of our country repose, and to measure the intellectual stature of a finished American man!

The relation which he held to the politics of the country was the natural result of a mind and temperament like his. A wise patriot, who understands the wants of his time, will throw himself into the scale which most needs the weight of his influence, and choose the side which is best for his country and not for himself. Hence, it may be his duty to espouse defeat, and cleave to disappointment. In weighing the two elements of law and liberty, as they are mingled in our country, he felt that danger was rather to be apprehended from the preponderance of license than of authority—that men were attracted to liberty by the powerful instincts of the blood and heart, but to law by the colder and fainter suggestions of the reason. Hence he was a conservative at home, and gave his influence to the party of permanence rather than progression. But in Europe it was different. There he saw that there were abuses to be reformed, and burdens to be removed; that the principle of progress was to be encouraged, and that larger infu-

sions of liberty should be poured into the exhausted frames of decayed states. Hence, his sympathies were always on the side of the struggling and the suffering; and, through his powerful voice, the public opinion of America made itself heard and respected in Europe. It is a fact worthy of being stated in this connection, that at the moment when a tempest of obloquy was beating upon him, from his supposed hostility to the cause of freedom here, a very able writer of the Catholic faith, in a striking and, in many respects, admirable essay upon his writings and public life, came reluctantly and respectfully to the conclusion that Mr. Webster had forfeited all claim to the support of Catholic voters, from the countenance he had given to the revolutionary spirit of Europe. Such are ever the judgments passed by fragmentary men upon a universal man.

His strong sense of the value of the Union, and the force and frequency with which he discoursed upon this theme, are to be explained by the same traits of mind and character. He believed that we were more in danger of diffusion than consolidation. He felt that all the primal instincts of patriotism—all the chords of the heart—bound men to their own state, and not to the common country; and that with the territorial increase of that country, it became more and more difficult for the central heart to propel to the extremities the life-blood of invigorating national sentiment, without which a state is but a political corporation without a soul. He knew, too, that the name of a Union might exist without the substance, and that a Union for mutual annoyance

and defiance, and for mutual aid and support, which kept the word of promise to the ear and broke it to the hope, was hardly worth the having. Hence, he labored earnestly and perseveringly to inculcate a love of the Union, and to present the whole country as an object to be cherished, honored and valued, because he felt that on that side our affections needed to be quickened and strengthened.

As was to be expected, so powerful a man could not pass through life without encountering strong opposition. All his previous experiences, however, were inconsiderable in comparison with the storm of denunciation which he drew down upon himself by his course on what are commonly called the Compromise measures, and, especially, his speech on that occasion. It was natural that men, whose fervid sympathies are wedded to a single idea, should have felt aggrieved by the stand he then took; and if decency and decorum had governed their expressions, neither he nor his friends could have had any right to complain. But, in many cases, the attacks were so foul and ferocious that they lost all claim to be treated as moral judgments, and sunk to the level of the lowest and coarsest effusions of malice and hatred. It is a good rule in politics, as elsewhere, to give men credit for the motives they profess to be actuated by, and to accept their own exposition of their opinions as true. Let us apply these rules to his course at that time. He had opposed the admission of Texas, and predicted the train of evils which would come with it. He had warned the North of the perilous questions with which that measure was fraught. But

his prophetic voice was unheeded. Between zeal on one side, and apathy on the other, Texas came in. Then war with Mexico followed, ending in conquest, and leaving the whole of that unhappy country at our mercy. Mr. Webster opposed the dismemberment of Mexico, provided for in the treaty of peace, on the ground that no sooner should we have the immense territory, which we proposed to take, than the question whether Slavery should exist there, would agitate the country. But again the warning voice of his wisdom was unheeded, and the storm, which he had predicted, gathered in the heavens. The questions against which he had forewarned his countrymen now clamored for settlement, and would not be put by. They required for their adjustment the most of reason and the least of passion, and they were met in a mood which combined the most of passion and the least of reason. The North and the South met in "angry parle," and the air was darkened with their strife. Mr. Webster's prophetic spirit was heavy within him. He felt that a crisis had arrived in the history of his country, and that the lot of a solemn duty and a stern self-sacrifice had fallen upon him. As he himself said, "he had made up his mind to embark alone on what he was aware would prove a stormy sea, because, in that case, should disaster ensue, there would be but one life lost." In this mood of calm and high resolve he went forward to meet the portentous issue.

It is not to be expected that a speech made under such circumstances, going over so wide a range of exciting topics, should, in every part, command the

immediate and entire assent even of those who would admit its truth and seasonableness as a whole. It is also doubtless true, that there are single expressions in it, which, when torn from their context, and set by the side of passages from former speeches, dealt with in like manner, will not be found absolutely identical. But the speech of such a man, at such a crisis, is not to be dissected and criticised like a rhetorical exercise. It should be judged as a whole, and read by the light of the occasion which gave it birth.

The judgments which Mr. Webster's course has called forth were widely divided. By those who hold extreme views, he was charged with expressing sentiments which he did not believe to be true. It was a bid for the Presidency, and his conscience was the price he offered. It is a mere waste of words to argue with men of this class. Fanaticism darkens the mind, and hardens the heart, and where there is neither common sense nor common charity, the first step in a process of reasoning cannot be taken. Others maintained that he was mistaken in point of fact, that he took counsel of his fears and not of his wisdom, and that, through him, the opportunity was lost of putting down the South in an open struggle for influence and power. But, in the first place, it is not probable that a man, who, upon subordinate questions, had shown so much political wisdom and forecast, should have been mistaken upon a point of such transcendent importance, to which his attention had been so long and so earnestly directed; and, in the second place, the testimony of all men whose evidence would be received with respect upon any similar subject, fully

sustains Mr. Webster in the views he then took of the state of the country, and is equally strong as to the value of the services he rendered. In such an issue, the testimony of retired persons, living among books and their own thoughts, is not entitled to any great value, because they can have no adequate notion of the duties, responsibilities or difficulties of governing a great state, and what need there is of patience and renunciation in those who are called to this highest of human functions. A statesman has the right to be tried by his peers.

It is curious to observe how hatred, whether personal or political, when it enters into the mind, disturbs its functions, as a piece of iron in the binnacle of a ship misleads the compass. Many who have found it so hard to forgive Mr. Webster for his independence in opposing them, would admit the importance of having a class of public men who will lead the people and not be led by them, and that a great man is never so great as when withstanding their dangerous wishes, and calmly braving their anger. Their eyes will sparkle when they speak of the neutral countenance of Washington, undismayed by Jacobin clamor, and of the sublime self-devotion of Jay. It is strange that they cannot, or will not, for a moment look at Mr. Webster's position from a point of view opposite to their own, admit that he may have been in the right, and see him clad in the beauty of self-sacrifice. It is to be feared that this form of virtue is growing more and more rare, as it is more and more needed. The story of Curtius leaping into a gulf in the Roman forum is but the legendary form

in which a perpetual truth is clothed. In the path of time there are always chasms of error, which only a great self-immolating victim can close. The glory has departed from the land in which that self-devoting stock has died out.

Mr. Webster was an ambitious man. He desired the highest office in the gift of the people. But on this subject, as on all others, there was no concealment in his nature. And ambition is not a weakness, unless it be disproportioned to the capacity. To have more ambition than ability, is to be at once weak and unhappy. With him it was a noble passion, because it rested upon noble powers. He was a man cast in a heroic mould. His thoughts, his wishes, his passions, his aspirations, were all on a grander scale than those of other men. Unexercised capacity is always a source of rusting discontent. The height to which men may rise is in proportion to the upward force of their genius, and they will never be calm till they have attained their predestined elevation. Lord Bacon says, "as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition, is violent; in authority, settled and calm." Mr. Webster had a giant's brain and a giant's heart, and he wanted a giant's work. He found repose in those strong conflicts and great duties, which crush the weak and madden the sensitive. He thought that, if he were elevated to the highest place, he should so administer the government as to make the country honored abroad, and great and happy at home. He thought, too, that he could do something to make us more truly one people. This, above every thing else,

was his ambition. And we, who knew him better than others, felt that it was a prophetic ambition, and we honored and trusted him accordingly.

As a writer and as a public speaker, upon the great interests of his country, Mr. Webster stands before us and will stand before those who come after us, as the leading spirit of his time. Sometimes, indeed, his discussions may have been too grave to be entirely effective, at the moment of their delivery, but all of them are quarries of political wisdom; for while others have solved only the particular problem before them, he has given the rule that reaches all of the same class. As a general remark, his speeches are a striking combination of immediate effectiveness and enduring worth. He never, indeed, goes out of his way for philosophical observations, nor lingers long in the tempting regions of speculation, but his mind, while he advances straight to his main object, drops from its abundant stores those words of wisdom which will keep, through all time, a vital and germinating power. His logic is vigorous and compact, but there is no difficulty in following his argument, because his reasoning is as clear as it is strong. The leading impression he leaves upon the mind, is that of irresistible weight. We are conscious of a propelling power, before which everything gives way or goes down. The hand of a giant is upon us, and we feel that it is in vain to struggle. The eloquence of Burke, with whom he is always most fitly compared, is like a broad river, winding through a cultivated landscape; that of Mr. Webster is like a clear mountain stream, compressed between walls of rock.

But his claims as a writer do not rest exclusively upon his political speeches. His occasional discourses, and his diplomatic writings, would alone make a great reputation. His occasional discourses rise above the rest of their class, as the Bunker Hill Monument soars above the objects around it. His Plymouth Oration, especially, is a production which all, who have followed in the same path, must ever look upon with admiration and despair. It was the beginning of a new era in that department of literature. It was the first and greatest of its class; and has naturally fixed a standard of excellence which has been felt in the efforts of all who have come after him. Its merits of style and treatment are of the highest order, and it is marked throughout by great dignity of sentiment and an elevating and stirring tone of moral feeling, which lifts the mind into regions higher than can be reached by eloquence, or power of expression alone.

His diplomatic writings claim unqualified praise. Such discussions require a cautious as well as firm hand, for a single rash expression, falling upon an explosive state of mind, may shatter to pieces the most hopeful negotiation. Mr. Webster combines great force of statement with perfect decorum of manner. It is the iron hand but the silken glove. He neither claims nor yields a single inch beyond the right. His attitude is neither aggressive nor distrustful. He is strong in himself and strong in his position. His style is noble, dignified and transparent. It is the "large utterance" of a great people. I know of no modern compositions which, in form and

substance, embody so much of what we understand by the epithet, Roman. Such, indeed, we may imagine the State papers of the Roman Senate to have been, in the best days of the Republic.

His arguments, speeches, occasional discourses, and diplomatic writings, have all a marked family likeness. They are all characterized by strength and simplicity. He never goes out of his way to make a point or drag in an illustration. His ornaments, sparingly introduced, are of that pure gold, which defies the sharpest test of criticism. He had more of imagination, properly so called, than fancy, and his images are more grand than picturesque. He writes like a man who is thinking of his subject, and not of his style, and thus wastes no time upon the mere garb of his thoughts. His mind was so full, that epithet and illustration grew with his words, like flowers on the stalk. It is a striking fact that a man who has had so great an influence over the mind of America, should have been so free from our national defects; our love of exaggeration, and our excessive use of figurative language. His style is Doric, not Corinthian. His sentences are like shafts hewn from the granite of his own hills—simple, massive, and strong. We may apply to him what Quintilian says of Cicero, that a relish for his writings is itself a mark of good taste. He is always plain; sometimes even homely and unfinished. But a great writer may be, and indeed must be, homely and unfinished at times. Dealing with great subjects, he must vary his manner. Some things he will put in the foreground, and some in the background; some in light, and some in

shadow. He will not hesitate, therefore, to say plain things in a plain way. When the glow and impulse of his genius are upon him, he will not stop to adjust every fold in his mantle. His writings will leave upon the mind an effect, like that of the natural landscape upon the eye, where nothing is trim and formal, but where all the sweeps and swells, though rarely conforming to an ideal line of beauty, blend together in a general impression of grace, fertility, and power.

His knowledge of law, politics and government was profound, various and exact; but a man of learning, in the sense in which this word is commonly used, he could not be called. His life had been too busy to leave much time for scientific or literary research; nor had he that passionate love of books which made him content to pass all his leisure hours in his library. He had read much, but not many books. He was a better Latin scholar than the average of our educated men, and he read the Roman authors, to the last, with discriminating relish. A mind like his was naturally drawn to the grand and stately march of Roman genius. With the best English writers he was entirely familiar, and he took great pleasure in reading them, and discussing their merits.

To science, as recorded in books, he had given little time, but he had the faculties and organization which would easily have made him a man of science. He had the senses of an Indian hunter. Of the knowledge that is gathered by observation—as of the names and properties of plants, the song and plumage of birds, and the forms and growth of trees—he had

much more than most men of his class. His eye was accurate as his mind was discriminating. Never was his conversation more interesting than when speaking of natural objects and natural phenomena. His words had the freshness of morning, and seemed to bring with them the breezes of the hills and the fragrance of Spring.

Mr. Webster, both as a writer and a speaker, was unequal, and from the nature of his mind and temperament, it could not be otherwise. He was not of an excitable organization, and felt no nervous anxiety lest he should fall below the standard of expectation raised by previous efforts. Hence, he was swayed by the mood, mental or physical, in which each occasion found him. He required a great subject, or a great antagonist, to call forth all his slumbering power. At times, he looked and spoke almost like a superhuman creature: at others, he seemed but the faint reflex of himself. His words fell slowly and heavily from his lips, as if each cost him a distinct effort. The influence, therefore, which he had over popular assemblies, was partly owing to his great weight of character.

He had strong out-of-door tastes, and they contributed to the health of his body and mind. He was a keen sportsman, and a lover of the mountains and the sea. His heart warmed to a fine tree, as to the face of a friend. He had that fondness for agriculture and rural pursuits so common among statesmen. Herein the grand scale of the whole man gave direction and character to his tastes. He did not care for minute finish and completeness on a limited

scale. He had no love for trim-gardens and formal pleasure-grounds. His wishes clasped the whole landscape. He liked to see the broad fields of clover, with the morning dew upon them, yellow waves of grain, heaving and rolling in the sun, and great cattle lying down in the shade of great trees. He liked to hear the whetting of the mower's scythe, the loud beat of the thresher's flail, and the heavy groan of loaded wagons. The smell of the new-mown hay, and of the freshly-turned furrows in Spring, was cordial to his spirit. He took pleasure in all forms of animal life, and his heart was glad when his cattle lifted up their large-eyed, contemplative faces, and recognized their lord by a look.

His mental powers were commended by a remarkable personal appearance. He was probably the grandest looking man of his time. Wherever he went, men turned to gaze at him—and he could not enter a room without having every eye fastened upon him. His face was very striking, both in form and color. His brow was to common brows, what the great dome of St. Peters is to the small cupolas at its side. The eyebrow, the eye, and the dark and deep socket in which it glowed, were full of power; but the great expression of his face lay in the mouth. This was the most speaking and flexible of features, moulded by every mood of feeling, from iron severity to the most captivating sweetness. His countenance changed from sternness to softness with magical rapidity. His smile was beaming, warming, fascinating, lighting up his whole face like a sudden sunrise. His voice was rich, deep, and strong; filling the largest space with-

out effort, capable of most startling and impressive tones, and when under excitement, rising and swelling into a volume of sound, like the roar of a tempest. His action was simple and dignified—and in his animated moods highly expressive. Those of us who recall his presence as he stood up here to speak, in the pride and strength of his manhood, have formed from his words, looks, tones, and actions, an ideal standard of physical and intellectual power, which we never expect to see approached, but by which we unconsciously try the greatness of which we read, as well as that which we meet.

He was a man more known and admired than understood. His great qualities were conspicuous from afar—but that part of his nature, which he shared with other men, was apprehended by comparatively few. His manners did not always do him justice. For many years of his life, great burdens rested upon him, and at times his cares and thoughts settled down darkly upon his spirit, and he was then a man of an awful presence. He required to be loved, before he could be known. He, indeed, grappled his friends to him with hooks of steel, but he did not always conciliate those who were not his friends. He had a lofty spirit, which could not stoop or dissemble. He could neither affect what he did not feel, nor desire to conceal what he did. His wishes clung with tenacious hold to everything they grasped—and from those who stood, or seemed to stand in his way, his countenance was averted. Some, who were not unwilling to become his friends, were changed by his manners into foes. He was social in his nature, but

not facile. He was seen to the best advantage among a few old and tried friends, especially in his old home. Then his spirits rose, his countenance expanded, and he looked and moved like a schoolboy on a holiday. Conscious that no unfriendly ear was listening to him, his conversation became easy, playful, and natural. His memory was richly stored with characteristic anecdotes, and with amusing reminiscences of his own early life and of the men who were conspicuous when he was young, all of which he narrated with an admirable mixture of dignity and grace. Those who saw him in these hours of social ease, with his armor off, and the current of his thoughts turning, gently and gracefully, to chance topics and familiar themes, could hardly believe that he was the same man who was so reserved and austere in public.

But it may be asked, had this great man no faults? Surely he had. No man liveth, and sinneth not. There were veins of human imperfection running through his large heart and large brain. But neither men, nor the works of men, should be judged by their defects. Like all eminent persons, he fell upon evil tongues; but those who best knew his private life, most honored, venerated and loved him.

He was a man of strong religious feeling. For theological speculations he had little taste, but he had reflected deeply on the relations between God and the human soul, and his heart was penetrated with a devotional spirit. He had been, from his youth upwards, a diligent student of the Scriptures, and few men, whether clergymen or laymen, were more fami-

liar with their teachings and their language. He had a great reverence for the very words of the Bible, and never used them in any light or trivial connection. He never avoided the subjects of life, death, and immortality, and when he spoke of them, it was with unusual depth of feeling and impressiveness of manner. Within the last few months of his life, his thoughts and speech were often turned upon such themes. He felt that he was an old man, and that it became him to set his house in order. On the eighteenth day of January last, he had completed the threescore and ten years which are man's alloted portion, and yet his eye was not dim, nor his natural force much abated. But he grew weaker with the approach of summer, and his looks and voice, when he last addressed us from this place, a few months ago, forced upon us the mournful reflection that this great light must soon sink below the horizon. But yet, when the news came that the hand of death was upon him, it startled us like a sudden blow, for he was become so important to us, that we could not look steadily at the thought of losing him. You remember what a sorrow it was that settled down upon our city. The common business of life dragged heavily with us in those days. There was but one expression on the faces of men, and but one question on their lips. We listened to the tidings which came up, hour after hour, from his distant chamber, as men upon the shore, in a night of storm, listen to the minute guns of a sinking ship, freighted with the treasures of their hearts. The grief of the people was eager for the minutest details of his closing hours, and he died with

his country around his bed. Of the beauty and grandeur of that death I need not speak to you, for it is fixed in your memories, and deep in your hearts. It fell upon the whole land like a voice from heaven. He died calmly, simply and bravely. He was neither weary of life, nor afraid of death. He died like a husband, a father, a friend, a Christian, and a man; with thoughtful tenderness for all around him, and a trembling faith in the mercy of God. He was not tried by long and hopeless suffering; nor were his friends saddened by seeing the lights put out before the curtain fell. His mind, like a setting sun, seemed larger at the closing hour. Such a death narrows the dark valley to a span. Such is a midsummer's day at the poles, where sunset melts into sunrise, and the last ray of evening is caught up, and appears once more as the first beam of the new morning.

I should not feel that my duty had been wholly discharged, did I not speak of the touching simplicity and solemnity of his funeral. In his will, made a few days before his death, he says: "I wish to be buried without the least show or ostentation, but in a manner respectful to my neighbors, whose kindness has contributed so much to the happiness of me and mine, and for whose prosperity I offer sincere prayers to God." His wishes were faithfully observed, and, in the arrangements for his funeral, there was no recognition of worldly distinction or official rank. He was buried simply as the head of a household, after the manner of New England. But the immense crowds which were there, drawn from all parts of the land by their own veneration and love, formed an element

of impressiveness far above all civil pageantry or military honors. Who, that was there present, will ever forget the scene on which fell the rich light of that soft autumnal day? There was the landscape so stamped with his image and identified with his presence. There were the trees he had planted, the fields over which he had delighted to walk, and the ocean whose waves were music to his ear. There was the house, with its hospitable door: but the stately form of its master did not stand there, with outstretched hand and smile of welcome. That smile had vanished for ever from the earth, and the hand and form were silent, cold and motionless. The dignity of life had given place to the dignity of death. No narrow chamber held that illustrious dust; no coffin concealed that majestic frame. In the open air, clad as when alive, he lay extended in seeming sleep; with no touch of disfeature upon his brow; as noble an image of reposing strength as ever was seen upon earth. Around him was the landscape that he had loved, and above him was nothing but the dome of the covering heavens. The sunshine fell upon the dead man's face, and the breeze blew over it. A lover of nature, he seemed to be gathered into her maternal arms, and to lie like a child upon a mother's lap. We felt, as we looked upon him, that death had never stricken down, at one blow, a greater sum of life. And whose heart did not swell, when from the honored and distinguished men there gathered together, six plain Marshfield farmers were called forth, to carry the head of their neighbor to the grave. Slowly and sadly the vast multitude followed, in mourning silence, and he was laid down

to rest among dear and kindred dust. There, among the scenes that he loved in life, he sleeps well. He has left his name and memory to dwell for ever upon those hills and valleys, to breathe a more spiritual tone into the winds that blow over his grave, to touch with finer light the line of the breaking wave, to throw a more solemn beauty upon the hues of Autumn and the shadows of twilight.

But though his mortal form is there, his spirit is here. His words are written in living light along these walls. May that spirit rest upon us and our children. May those words live in our hearts and the hearts of those who come after us. May we honor his memory, and show our gratitude for his life by taking heed to his counsels and walking in the way on which the light of his wisdom shines.

PERSONAL ANECDOTES,

LETTERS, REMINISCENCES, TRIBUTES, ETC.,

FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

FRANKLIN PIERCE'S SPEECH ON THE DEATH OF WEBSTER, AT CONCORD, N. H.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—How deeply have all hearts been impressed by the fervent appeal to that Power in which our fathers put their trust, in the hour of their weakness and trials! And how has that solemn impression been enhanced by the last words of the truly great man, just read by the Rev. Dr. Bouton!

But a few weeks have passed since a deep gloom was cast over our country by the death of the great statesman of the West. It had long been understood that his light was flickering in its socket, and must soon go out. Still, the announcement, when it came, was laden with sadness; and we have all, since then, been disposed to look with warmer affection and more glowing gratitude to his great compeer and associate, the intelligence of whose sudden decease will fall like a funeral pall upon the public throughout that Union to which he gave his best affections and noblest efforts.

I had met Mr. Webster repeatedly prior to 1833, but my personal acquaintance with him may be said to have commenced with my first winter at Washington. His attachment to our State was singularly strong, and this circumstance, perhaps, led to a series of kind acts and courtesies toward me, during the session of 1833–4, and afterward, the grateful recollection of which will never be effaced. I mourn for him as for a friend, for whose personal regard my own heart has given back a true and full response.

Among eminent citizens, of commanding power and influence, while I was in the Senate, he stood, perhaps, pre-eminent. In his rich combination of qualities as an orator, lawyer and statesman, it may be safely said, he had no rival. How forcibly and sadly are we reminded of the great men with whom he was associated in the Senate chamber, and who preceded him in his transit through the "dark valley!" White, Grundy, Forsyth, Southard, Wall, Linn, Sevier, Silas Wright, Hill, Woodbury, Calhoun, Clay—men who left their impress upon the age—names indissolubly connected with the fame and history of their country; all, like him whose death we are now called upon to deplore, were links in the chain which bound the past generation to the present, and all, like him, are now on the other side of that narrow line which divides time from eternity. Upon whom have their mantles fallen? Who are to take their places in the perils through which our country may be called to pass? Who, with patriotic courage and statesman-like forecast, are to guide in the storms that will, at times, inevitably threaten us, in our unexam-

pled development of resources as a nation, our almost fearful progress, our position of amazing responsibility, as the great, confederated, self-governing power of the globe? These are questions which will press themselves upon all minds; but who, alas, can satisfactorily answer them?

To speak of Mr. Webster's genius, his varied and solid attainments, his services, would be to discourse of matters as familiar, even to the children of his native state, as household words. Besides, this must be left to vigorous pens and eloquent tongues, after the first gush of grief, and the oppressive sense of loss, shall, to some extent, have passed away. It is, and long has been, my firm conviction that Mr. Webster had a hold upon the minds and hearts of his countrymen, which will fail to be justly estimated, only because there has been no full opportunity to measure it. You, Mr. Chairman, have truly said that Mr. Webster's greatness was of that rare character which no earthly position could exalt. He came to official stations, as he approached all subjects presented to his mind, their superior and their master. He has reared for himself a vast pillar of renown, which will stand, in undiminished strength and grandeur, when the work of men's hands, erected to his honor, will be like Nineveh; and, I fear, when this Union may have shared the fate which was the dread of his later years. A few years ago, when the distinguished brother of the deceased was called in an instant from time to eternity, in the court-room in this place, with the last word of a perfect sentence lingering on his lips, another citizen, most eminent

and beloved, (the late lamented George Sullivan), exclaimed, "What shadows we are, what shadows we pursue!" How these emphatic words come back to us here, as if by an echo! How mere earthly honors and distinctions fade amid a gloom like this; how political asperities are chastened; what a lesson to the living; what an admonition to personal malevolence, now awed and subdued, as the great heart of the nation throbs heavily at the portals of his grave!

I have no heart to speak, or to contemplate the extent of the loss we have sustained. As a personal friend, as a son of New Hampshire, as an American citizen, I shall be, with thousands, a sincere mourner at his obsequies.

THE REV. DR. HAWKS'S INTRODUCTION TO THE RESOLUTIONS ON THE DEATH OF WEBSTER, BEFORE THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MR. PRESIDENT: A sad duty has been confided to me, and I, in common with my countrymen, mourn over the occasion which calls for its performance. When I recall the saddened expression which, for the last week, I have seen on the countenance of my fellow-citizens; when I observe the deep stillness which pervades this hall, I feel that words are scarce necessary to render the tribute that we fain would yield to the memory of the illustrious man to whom you have alluded. Our hearts are already rendering that tribute by expressive silence.

And yet, when such a man as Daniel Webster dies, we owe it alike to him and to ourselves to speak;

it is meet that American hearts should render, in the face of the world, their outspoken attestation to the worth of one to whom, if to any man, justly belonged the epithet "*The* Great American."

I am unmeet to speak this eulogy; I came not here for that purpose. Let that task be committed to a more skilful tongue than mine. Should I make the effort, the feelings under which I labor would disqualify me for the performance. But thus much will I venture to say: the head and the heart constitute all that really make the man. Of his high intellectual powers, so happily blended, the story has at once been told with equal brevity and beauty by one of the worthiest of his countrymen, in a single sentence. In his illustrations of mind, "the lightning of passion flashed along the links of the iron chain of argument." And, sir, of his heart, and that deep sea of human affection in which it floated, the story is one just as long as his life, and of touching beauty. You may read its beginning in the history of the New Hampshire farmer's boy, whose deep and generous fraternal love consecrated his earliest earnings to a beloved brother's education; you may read its close in the honest tears shed over his remains by the faithful, though humble, dependents, who, for ten twenty, aye, even thirty years, had loved his service because they knew his kindness.

But, sir, he has only gone before us; he is not lost to us. He yet lives. True, we have said "earth to earth" over that which was mortal, but he has left behind him that which I would fain believe his countrymen "will not willingly let die."

It only remains to discharge the duty attached to me by submitting the following preamble and resolutions :—

" *Whereas*, The dispensation of an all-wise Providence has removed from the earth Hon. Daniel Webster, late Secretary of State of the United States, and for nearly half a century associated in the councils, and identified with the history of the nation; and whereas (to use his own most appropriate and expressive language), 'it is fit that we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings early given and long continued to our favored country;' therefore we, the New-York Historical Society, as a body, would add our mournful tribute to the sounds of sorrow which now come up from a nation's heart, at the bereavement, which but too forcibly reminds us of one who, springing from the ranks of the people, evinced, with the generosity natural to youth, the resolute determination that belongs to the maturity of manhood, and with indefatigable industry, surmounting obstacles amidst the vast labors of an arduous profession, and continuous devotion to legislative duties, prosecuted his extended researches in the domains of general learning, having acquired in early life those solid attainments which formed the strong foundation on which he reared in after times an intellectual structure, on which men looked with undiminished admiration to the last, brought to the service of his country the best labors of his head and the best affections of his heart; maintained his principles with an energy, manliness and eloquence, worthy

an American statesman; with an indomitable moral courage, stood ever fearlessly in the front rank in defence of the Constitution, regardless of personal consequences; with an intensity of patriotism worthy of the purest days of the Republic, acknowledged no earthly allegiance, and rendered no loyalty save to his country and his whole country; and, finally, with calm dignity, in beautiful harmony with his long and illustrious career, met death with a 'reasonable, religious and holy hope;' thus, after 'sounding all the depths and shoals of honor,' adding the weight of his testimony to the truth of God, and relinquishing the glories of the statesman, to repose his soul in the humblest hope of the Christian.

"*Resolved*, That while we thus feebly express our sympathies in the nation's loss, we feel the true and appropriate tribute which becomes American citizens in youth to imitate his indefatigable industry; in manhood his honorable and disinterested patriotism; and so live, that, in old age, theirs may be, as was his, the tranquil composure, which, resting on a Christian's hope, disarmed death of his terrors.

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be entered on the journal of the Society, and a copy thereof, duly authenticated by the officers of the New-York Historical Society, be forwarded to the immediate relatives of Mr. Webster."

MR. WEBSTER IN COLLEGE.

Prof. Shurtleff, of Dartmouth College, made the following remarks at a meeting held on receiving intelligence of Mr. Webster's death:

I wish for liberty to state, before the close of the meeting, a few facts in Mr. Webster's history for the benefit of the young gentlemen in College.

When I came to enter this Institution in 1797, I put up, with others from the same Academy, at what is now called the *Olcott House*, which was then a tavern. We were conducted to a chamber, where we might brush our clothes and make ready for examination. A young man, a stranger to us all, was soon ushered into the room. Similarity of object rendered the ordinary forms of introduction needless. We learned that his name was Webster, also where he had studied, and how much Latin and Greek he had read, which I think was just to the limit prescribed by law at that period, and which was very much below the present requisition.

Mr. Webster, while in College, was remarkable for his steady habits, his intense application to study, and his punctual attendance upon all the prescribed exercises. I know not that he was absent from a recitation, or from morning and evening prayers in the Chapel, or from public worship on the Sabbath; and I doubt if ever a smile was seen upon his face during any religious exercise. He was always in his place, and with a decorum suited to it. He had no collision with any one, nor appeared to enter into the

concerns of others, but emphatically *minded his own business.*

But as steady as the sun, he pursued with intense application the great object for which he came to College. This I conceive was the secret of his popularity in College, and his success in subsequent life. But notwithstanding Mr. Webster's constancy and sobriety at religious services, I never spoke to him in regard to his opinions and feelings on the all-important subject, and I know not that he uttered them to the members of his own class. A few years, however, after he left College, either while a student at law, or soon after he opened an office, I heard that he had become a professor of religion by joining an orthodox church; and I think his Christian example was without reproach, so long as he remained in his native State

For several years after his removal I could hear little in regard to his religious course, and the thought occurred to me that such eminent men might suffer for the want of direct personal influence through the fear of their pastor to approach them; and it appeared that considering my age and profession, and relation to those who had been educated at Dartmouth, it belonged to me as much as to any one, so far as I could, to supply the deficiency. About two years ago, being in Boston, I received a message inviting me to an interview with Mr. Webster at the house of a mutual friend. The call was gladly responded to; and while I was crossing the street, my resolution recurred to me. He met me with his usual cordiality, and when I attempted to turn the conver-

sation towards religion, he at once anticipated me, and laid the subject fully open between us; and I need not tell you how much I was gratified in finding that not only his opinions in regard to the great doctrines and duties of our holy religion, but also his views of what is needful to prepare a soul for death and the coming judgment, were in sympathy with my own.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S FAMILY RECOLLECTIONS.

In a letter dated Franklin, N. H., May 3d, 1846, to a friend in New-York, communicated to the *Commercial Advertiser*.

I have made satisfactory arrangements respecting my house here, the best of which is, that I can leave it where it is, and yet be comfortable, notwithstanding the railroad.

This house faces due north. Its front windows look toward the river Merrimack. But then the river soon turns to the south, so that the eastern windows look toward the river also. But the river has so deepened its channel in this stretch of it, in the last fifty years, that we cannot see its waters, without approaching it, or going back to the higher lands behind us. The history of this change is of considerable importance in the philosophy of streams. I have observed it practically, and know something of the theory of the phenomenon; but I doubt whether the world will ever be benefited, either by my learning, or my observation, in this respect.

Looking out at the east windows at this moment,

(2 P. M.) with a beautiful sun just breaking out, my eye sweeps a rich and level field of 100 acres. At the end of it, a third of a mile off, I see plain marble grave-stones, designating the places where repose my father, my mother, my brother Joseph, and my sisters Mehitable, Abigail, and Sarah; good Scripture names, inherited from their Puritan ancestors.

My father! Ebenezer Webster!—born at Kingston, in the lower part of the State, in 1739—the handsomest man I ever saw, except my brother Ezekiel, who appeared to me, and so does he now seem to me, the very finest human form that ever I laid eyes on. I saw him in his coffin—a white forehead—a tinged cheek—a complexion as clear as heavenly light! But where am I straying?

The grave has closed upon him, as it has on all my brothers and sisters. We shall soon be all together. But this is melancholy—and I leave it. Dear, dear kindred blood, how I love you all!

This fair field is before me—I could see a lamb on any part of it. I have ploughed it, and raked it, and hoed it, but I never mowed it. Somehow, I could never learn to hang a scythe. I had not wit enough. My brother Joe used to say that my father sent me to college in order to make me equal to the rest of the children!

Of a hot day in July—it must have been one of the last years of Washington's administration, I was making hay with my father, just where I now see a remaining elm tree, about the middle of the afternoon. The Hon. Abiel Foster, M. C., who lived in Canterbury, six miles off, called at the house,

and came into the field to see my father. He was a worthy man, college learned, and been a minister, but was not a person of any considerable natural powers. My father was his friend and supporter. He talked awhile in the field, and went on his way. When he was gone, my father called me to him, and we sat down beneath the elm on a hay-cock. He said, "My son, that is a worthy man—he is a member of Congress—he goes to Philadelphia, and gets six dollars a day, while I toil here. It is because he had an education, which I never had. If I had had his early education, I should have been in Philadelphia, in his place. I came near it as it was. But I missed it, and now I must work here." "My dear father," said I, "you shall not work. Brother and I will work for you, and wear our hands out, and you shall rest"—and I remember to have cried—and I cry now at the recollection. "My child," said he, "it is of no importance to me—I now live but for my children; I could not give your elder brother the advantages of knowledge, but I can do something for you. Exert yourself—improve your opportunities—*learn—learn*—and when I am gone, you will not need to go through the hardships which I have undergone, and which have made me an old man before my time."

The next May he took me to Exeter, to the Phillips Exeter Academy—placed me under the tuition of its excellent preceptor, Dr. Benjamin Abbott, still living.

My father died in April, 1806. I neither left him, nor forsook him. My opening an office at Bos-

cawen was that I might be near him. I closed his eyes in this very house. He died at sixty-seven years of age—after a life of exertion, toil, and exposure—a private soldier, an officer, a legislator, a judge—every thing that a man could be, to whom learning never had disclosed her "ample page."

My first speech at the bar was made when he was on the bench—he never heard me a second time.

He had in him what I recollect to have been the character of some of the old Puritans. He was deeply religious, but not sour—on the contrary, good-humored, facetious—showing even in his age, with a contagious laugh, teeth, all as white as alabaster—gentle, soft, playful—and yet having a heart in him, that he seemed to have borrowed from a lion. He could frown; a frown it was, but cheerfulness, good humor, and smiles, composed his most usual aspect.

Ever truly, your friend,

DAN'L WEBSTER.

MR. WEBSTER'S LIBRARY, AND CONVERSATION ON THE SCRIPTURES.

Around the Library room, writes a correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*, upon all sides, was that choice selection of books that the owner had carefully gathered in Europe and America, during the last thirty years. There had often spoke to him the kindred minds of Bacon, Milton, Shakspeare, Chatham and Burke. There he had been pleased with the lesser poets, such as Gray, the author of the Elegy in the Country Church Yard, which he indistinctly

called for on the night of his death. This was a favorite room with the owner, and there he was accustomed to sit, and write, and read. On a Sabbath, when detained from the house of God by ill health, as he often was during the last years of his life, he was accustomed to peruse the book that he regarded as the best of all—the Bible, and commentaries thereupon. For a Sunday sermon he delighted to read one from Dr. Barrow, a prince of English sermonizers of the 17th century.

It was in this very room that the writer, who had just then taken charge of the parish to which Mr. Webster belonged, had his first interview with him, several summers since. The conversation turned upon theological and Bible topics. Mr. Webster discoursed most eloquently upon the book of Job, which has been for many years a favorite portion of Holy Writ with him. He had just been reading Barnes on Job, and did not agree with that learned author, whom he respected, that Job was an historical character. Said Mr. Webster, "There was no such person, in my judgment, as J-o-b" (spelling the name as he spoke). "Job was the hero of a great epic poem," he continued, "the object of which is to teach religious truth: a poem as much superior to the boasted Homer of antiquity, as Homer is superior to the production of a mere school-boy."

After discoursing upon other portions of the Scriptures, he proceeded to speak of the ministry of this and a former day. He spoke of the great eloquence of Dr. Osgood, of Medford, whom he was accustomed to hear often when he first removed to

Boston, in 1816. He spoke of how the cause of orthodoxy was protected in the north of Boston, by the indefatigable Dr. Morse of Charlestown, "a man who was always thinking, always reading, always writing, always preaching, always acting;"—of Rev. Dr. Codman, who maintained the cause of the South at Dorchester, and of other clergymen of that day. It was his impression, that the clergy of that day were more strictly students of the Scriptures, and abler divines and preachers, than those of the present day. He expressed the idea, that though the ministers of our day had been quite useful in giving so much of their attention, as they have, to the various charities and other labors, than those more strictly belonging to their profession, they have lost as students, and pastors, and as to their power in the pulpit. "But after all," said the profound critic, "I do not know; I cannot judge for others; perhaps I ought not to have ventured these suggestions."

MR. WEBSTER ON THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

A few evenings since, says a writer in the *Congregational Journal*, sitting by his own fireside, after a day of severe labor in the Supreme Court, Mr. Webster introduced the last Sabbath's sermon, and discoursed in animated and glowing eloquence for an hour on the great truths of the Gospel. I cannot but regard the opinions of such a man in some sense as public property. This is my apology for attempt-

ing to recall some of those remarks which were uttered in the privacy of the domestic circle.

Said Mr. Webster: "Last Sabbath I listened to an able and learned discourse upon the evidences of Christianity. The arguments were drawn from prophecy, history, with internal evidence. They were stated with logical accuracy and force; but, as it seemed to me, the clergyman failed to draw from them the right conclusion. He came so near the truth that I was astonished he missed it. In summing up his arguments, he said the only alternative presented by these evidences is this: Either Christianity is true, or it is a delusion produced by an excited imagination. Such is not the alternative, said the critic; but it is this: the Gospel is either true history, or it is a consummate fraud; it is either a reality or an imposition. Christ was what he professed to be, or he was an impostor. There is no other alternative. His spotless life in his earnest enforcement of the truth, his suffering in its defence, forbids us to suppose that he was suffering an illusion of the heated brain.

Every act of his pure and holy life shows that he was the author of truth, the advocate of truth, the earnest defender of truth, and the uncomplaining sufferer for truth. Now, considering the purity of his doctrines, the simplicity of his life, and the sublimity of his death, is it possible that he would have died for an illusion? In all his preaching the Saviour made no popular appeals. His discourses were all directed to the individual. Christ and his Apostles sought to impress upon every man the conviction that he must stand or fall alone—he must live for himself

and die for himself, and give up his account to the omniscient God, as though he were the only dependent creature in the Universe. The Gospel leaves the individual sinner alone with himself and his God. To his own master he stands or falls. He has nothing to hope from the aid and sympathy of associates. The deluded advocates of new doctrines do not so preach. Christ and his Apostles, had they been deceivers, would not have so preached.

If clergymen in our days would return to the simplicity of the Gospel, and preach more to individuals and less to the crowd, there would not be so much complaint of the decline of true religion. Many of the ministers of the present day take their text from St. Paul, and preach from the newspapers. When they do so, I prefer to enjoy my own thoughts rather than to listen. I want my pastor to come to me in the spirit of the Gospel, saying, "You are *mortal!* your probation is brief; your work must be done speedily. You are *immortal*, too. You are hastening to the bar of God; the Judge standeth before the door." When I am thus admonished, I have no disposition to muse or to sleep. "These topics," said Mr. Webster, "have often occupied my thoughts; and if I had time I would write on them myself."

The above remarks are but a meagre and imperfect abstract, from memory, of one of the most eloquent sermons to which I ever listened.

MR. WEBSTER IN 1830.

The late Col. Samuel L. Knapp thus described Mr. Webster's personal characteristics, twenty-two years ago:

The person of Mr. Webster is singular and commanding; his height is above the ordinary size, but he cannot be called tall; he is broad across the chest, and stoutly and firmly built, but there is nothing of clumsiness either in his form or gait. His head is very large, his forehead high, with good shaped temples. He has a large, black, solemn looking eye, that exhibits strength and steadfastness, and which sometimes burns, but seldom sparkles. His hair is of raven black, and both thick and short, without the mark of gray hair. His eyebrows are of the same color, thick and strongly marked, which give his features the appearance of sternness; but the general expression of his face, after it is properly examined, is rather mild and amiable than otherwise. His movements in the house and in the street are slow and dignified; there is no peculiar sweetness in his voice—its tones are rather harsh than musical; still there is a variety in them, and some of them catch the ear and chain it down to the most perfect attention. He bears traits of great mental labor, but no marks of age; in fact, his person is more imposing now, in his forty-eighth year, than it was at thirty years of age. His manners at the bar, and in the deliberative assembly, are peculiar. Hear him, and you will say that his eloquence is founded on no model, ancient or modern—all his own excellences and defects. His voice has an ex-

traordinary compass. His emphasis belongs to himself alone; it is founded on no rule, nor can it be reduced to any.

MR. WEBSTER'S LETTER ON THE MORNING.

The following beautiful letter, from the pen of Mr. Webster, was written to a friend some years ago. It will be read with much interest, not only for its intrinsic beauties, but as a purely literary production:

RICHMOND, VA.,
Five o'clock, A. M., April 29, 1852.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Whether it be a favor or an annoyance, you owe this letter to my early habits of rising. From the hour marked at the top of the page, you will naturally conclude that my companions are not now engaging my attention, as we have not calculated on being early travellers to-day.

This city has a "pleasant seat." It is high; the James river runs below it, and when I went out, an hour ago, nothing was heard but the roar of the Falls. The air is tranquil and its temperature mild. It is morning, and a morning sweet and fresh, and delightful. Everybody knows the morning in its metaphorical sense, applied to so many occasions. The health, strength, and beauty of early years, lead us to call that period the "morning of life." Of a lovely young woman we say she is "bright as the morning," and no one doubts why Lucifer is called "son of the morning."

But the morning itself, few people, inhabitants of

cities, know anything about. Among all our good people, no one in a thousand sees the sun rise once in a year. They know nothing of the morning. Their idea of it is, that it is that part of the day which comes along after a cup of coffee and a beefsteak, or a piece of toast. With them morning is not a new issuing of light, a new bursting forth of the sun, a new waking up of all that has life from a sort of temporary death, to behold again the works of God, the heavens and the earth; it is only a part of the domestic day, belonging to reading the newspapers, answering notes, sending the children to school and giving orders for dinner. The first streak of light, the earliest purpling of the east, which the lark springs up to greet, and the deeper and deeper coloring into orange and red, till at length the "glorious sun is seen, regent of the day"—this they never enjoy, for they never see it.

Beautiful descriptions of the morning abound in all languages, but they are the strongest perhaps in the East, where the sun is often an object of worship.

King David speaks of taking to himself the "wings of the morning." This is highly poetical and beautiful. The wings of the morning are the beams of the rising sun. Rays of light are wings. It is thus said that the sun of righteousness shall arise "with healing in his wings"—a rising sun that shall scatter life, health and joy throught the Universe.

Milton has fine descriptions of morning, but not so many as Shakspeare, from whose writings pages of the most beautiful imagery, all founded on the glory of morning, might be filled.

I never thought that Adam had much the advantage of us from having seen the world while it was new.

The manifestations of the power of God, like His mercies, are "new every morning," and fresh every moment.

We see as fine risings of the sun as ever Adam saw; and its risings are as much a miracle now as they were in his day, and I think a good deal more, because it is now a part of the miracle, that for thousands and thousands of years he has come to his appointed time, without the variation of a millionth part of a second. Adam could not tell how this might be. I know the morning—I am acquainted with it, and I love it. I love it fresh and sweet as it is—a daily new creation, breaking forth and calling all that have life and breath and being to new adoration, new enjoyments, and new gratitude.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

MR. WEBSTER'S DEDICATIONS OF HIS SIX VOLUMES OF SPEECHES.

The following are Mr. Webster's tributes of affection to his family and friends, and to the memory of the dead, displayed in the dedication of his speeches and writings recently published in six volumes:

DEDICATION OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

TO MY NIECES, MRS. ALICE BRIDGE WHIPPLE, AND MRS. MARY ANN SANBORN:

Many of the speeches contained in this volume were delivered and printed in the lifetime of your

father, whose fraternal affection led him to speak of them with approbation. His death which happened when he had only just passed the middle period of life, left you without a father, and me without a brother. I dedicate this volume to you, not only for the love I have for yourselves, but also as a tribute of affection to his memory, and from a desire that the name of my brother Ezekiel Webster, may be associated with mine, as long as anything written or spoken by me shall be regarded or read.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

DEDICATION OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

To ISAAC P. DAVIS, ESQ.:

My Dear Sir:—A warm private friendship has subsisted between us for half our lives, interrupted by no untoward occurrences, and never for a moment cooling with indifference. Of this friendship, the source of so much happiness to me, I wish to leave, if not an enduring memorial, at least an affectionate and grateful acknowledgment. I inscribe this volume to you.

DEDICATION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

To MRS. CAROLINE LE ROY WEBSTER:

My dearly-beloved Wife:—I cannot allow these volumes to go to the press, without containing a tribute of my affection and some acknowledgment of the deep interest that you have felt in the productions which they contain. You have witnessed the origin of most of them, not with less concern, certainly, than has been felt by their author; and the degree of favor with which they may now be received

by the public, will be as earnestly regarded, I am sure, by you as by myself. The opportunity seems also a fit one for expressing the high and warm regard which I ever entertained for your honored father, now deceased, and the respect and esteem which I cherish towards the members of that amiable and excellent family to which you belong.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

DEDICATION OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

To FLETCHER WEBSTER, ESQ.:

My dear Sir:—I dedicate one of the volumes of these speeches to the memory of your deceased brother and sister, and I am devoutly thankful that I am able to inscribe another volume to you, my only surviving child, and the object of my affection and hopes. You have been of an age, at the appearance of most of these speeches and writings at which you were able to read and understand them; and in the preparation of some of them you have taken no unimportant part. Among the diplomatic papers, there are several written by yourself wholly or mainly, at the time when official and confidential connections subsisted between us in the Department of State. The principles and opinions expressed in these productions are such as I believe to be essential to the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the Constitution, and the advancement of the country to still higher stages of prosperity and renown. These objects have constituted my pole star during the whole of my political life, which has now extended through more than half the period of the existence

of the government. And I know, my dear son, that neither parental authority nor parental example is necessary to induce you, in whatever capacity, public or private, you may be called to act, to devote yourself to the accomplishment of the same ends.

YOUR AFFECTIONATE FATHER.

DEDICATION OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

To J. W. PAGE, ESQ.:

My dear Sir:—The friendship which has subsisted so long between us, springs not more from our close family connections, than from similarity of opinions and sentiments. I count it among the advantages and pleasures of my life; and pray you to allow me as a slight, but grateful token of my estimate of it, to dedicate to you this volume of my speeches.

DEDICATION OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

With the warmest parental affection, mingled with afflicted feelings, I dedicate this the last volume of my works, to the memory of my deceased children, Julia Webster Appleton, beloved in all the relations of daughter, wife, mother, sister, and friend; and Major Edward Webster, who died in Mexico, in the military service of the United States, with unblemished honor and reputation, and who entered the service solely from a desire to be useful to his country, and do honor to the State in which he was born.

"Go, gentle spirits, to your destined rest;
While I—reversed our Nature's kindlier doom,
Pour forth a Father's sorrow on your tomb."

DANIEL WEBSTER.

These eloquent and unique tributes to living and departed kindred and worth, we venture to say, will be admired and appreciated wherever the English language is spoken or the social affections are cherished. They will serve as models for this class of composition, and are worthy accompaniments of the treasures of intellectual worth displayed in the volumes to which they are affixed. Their publication in a combined form, we doubt not, will be deemed appropriate at this time, particularly to that numerous class of readers to whom these voluminous works are not readily accessible.

THE GREAT ARE FALLING FROM US.

BY T. BUCHANAN READ.

The great are falling from us—to the dust,
Our flag droops midway, full of many sighs;
A nation's glory and a people's trust
Lie in the ample pall where Webster lies.

The great are falling from us—one by one,
As fall the patriarchs of the forest trees;
The winds shall seek them vainly, and the sun
Gaze on each vacant space for centuries.

Lo, Carolina mourns her steadfast Pine,
Which, like a mainmast, towered above her realm;
And Ashland hears no more the voice divine,
From out the branches of her stately elm.

And Marshfield's giant oak, whose stormy brow
Oft turned the ocean tempest from the West,
Lies on the shore he guarded long—and now,
Our startled Eagle knows not where to rest!

LETTERS OF MR. WEBSTER TO HIS FARMER, JOHN TAYLOR, AT FRANKLIN, N. H.

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1822.

John Taylor:—I am glad to hear from you again, and to learn that you are well, and that your teams and tools are ready for Spring's work, whenever the weather will allow you to begin. I sometimes read books on farming; and I remember that a very sensible old author advises farmers "to plough naked and sow naked." By this he means that there is no use in beginning Spring's work till the weather is warm, that a farmer may throw aside his Winter clothes and roll up his sleeves. Yet he says we ought to begin as early in the year as possible. He wrote some very pretty verses on the subject, which as far as I remember, run thus:

"While yet the Spring is young, while earth unbinds
The frozen bosom to the western winds;
While mountain snows dissolve against the sun,
And streams, yet new, from precipices run—
E'en in this early dawning of the year,
Produce the plough, and yoke the sturdy steer;
And goad him till he smoke beneath his toil,
And the bright share is buried in the soil."

John Taylor, when you read these lines, do you not see the snow melting, and the little streams beginning to run down the slopes of your Punch-brook pasture, and the new grass starting and growing in the trickling water, all green, bright and beautiful? And do you not see your Durham oxen moking from heat and perspiration as they draw along your great

breaking-up plough, cutting and turning over the tough sward in your meadow in the great field? The name of this sensible author is Virgil; and he gives farmers much other advice, some of which you have been following all the Winter without even knowing that he had given it.

"But when cold weather, heavy snow and rain,
The laboring farmer in his house restrain,
Let him forecast his work, with timely care,
Which else is huddled when the skies are fair;
Then let him mark the sheep, and whet the shining share,
Or hollow trees for boats; or number o'er
His sacks; or measure his increasing store;
Or sharpen stakes, and mend each rake and fork,
So to be ready, in good time, to work—
Visit his crowded barns at early morn,
Look to his granary, and shell his corn;
Give a good breakfast to his numerous kine,
His shivering poultry and his fattening swine."

And Mr. Virgil says some other things which you understand up at Franklin as well as ever he did:

"In chilling Winter, swains enjoy their store,
Forget their hardships, and recruit for more;
The farmer to full feasts invites his friends,
And what he got with pains, with pleasure spends;
Draws chairs around the fire, and tells once more
Stories which often have been told before;
Spreads a clean table, with things good to eat,
And adds some moistening to his fruit and meat;
They praise his hospitality, and feel
They shall sleep better after such a meal!"

John Taylor, by the time you have got through this, you will have read enough. The sum of all is,

be ready for your Spring's work as soon as the weather becomes warm enough, and then put your hand to the plough, and look not back.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1852.

John Taylor:—Go ahead: The heart of the Winter is broken, and before the 1st day of April, all your land may be ploughed. Buy the oxen of Captain Marston, if you think the price fair. Pay for the hay. I send you a check for $160, for these two objects. Put the great oxen in a condition to be turned out and fattened. You have a good horse-team, and I think in addition to this, four oxen and a pair of four-year old steers will do your work. If you think so, then dispose of the Stevens oxen, or unyoke them, and send them to the pasture for beef. I know not when I shall see you, but I hope before planting. If you need any thing, such as guano, for instance, write to Joseph Buck, Esq., Boston, and he will send it to you.

Whatever ground you sow or plant, see that it is in good condition. We want no *pennyroyal crops.* "A little farm well tilled," is to a farmer the next best thing to a "little wife well willed." Cultivate your garden. Be sure to produce sufficient quantities of useful vegetables. A man may half support his family from a good garden. Take care to keep my mother's garden in good order, even if it cost you the wages of a man to take care of it. I have sent you many garden seeds. Distribute them among your neighbors. Send them to the stores in the village,

that everybody may have a part of them without cost. I am glad that you have chosen Mr. Pike Representative. He is a true man; but there are in New Hampshire many persons who call themselves Whigs, who are no Whigs at all, and no better than disunionists. Any man who hesitates in granting and securing to every part of the country its just and its constitutional rights, is an enemy to the whole country.

John Taylor: if one of your boys should say that he honors his father and mother, and loves his brothers and sisters, but still insists that one of them shall be driven out of the family, what can you say of him but this, that there is no real family love in him? You and I are farmers; we never talk politics; our talk is of oxen; but remember this—that any man who attempts to excite one part of the country against another, is just as wicked as he would be who should attempt to get up a quarrel between John Taylor and his neighbor, old Mr. John Sanborn, or his other neighbor, Captain Burleigh. There are some animals that live best in the fire, and there are some men who delight in heat, smoke, combustion, and even general conflagration. They do not follow the things which make for peace. They enjoy only controversy, contention and strife. Have no communion with such persons, either as neighbors or politicians. You have no more right to say that Slavery ought not to exist in Virginia, than a Virginian has to say that Slavery ought to exist in New Hampshire. This is a question left to every State to decide for itself; and if we mean to keep the

States together, we must leave to every State this power of deciding for itself.

I think I never wrote you a word before upon politics. I shall not do it again. I only say love your country, and your whole country; and when men attempt to persuade you to get into a quarrel with the laws of other States, tell them that "you mean to mind your own business," and advise them to mind theirs. John Taylor, you are a free man; you possess good principles; you have a large family to rear and provide for by your labor. Be thankful to the Government which does not oppress you, which does not bear you down by excessive taxation, but which holds out to you and to yours the hope of all the blessings which liberty, industry and security may give. John Taylor, thank God, morning and evening, that you were born in such a country. John Taylor, never write me another word upon politics. Give my kindest remembrance to your wife and children; and when you look from your eastern windows upon the graves of my family, remember that he who is the author of this letter, must soon follow them to another world.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

WEBSTER AND FRANKLIN.

I recall with pleasure, said Dr. J. W. Francis, in some remarks before the New-York Historical Society, a conversation once held with Mr. Webster in regard to that illustrious sage. No individual

throughout our wide domain cherished a deeper reverence for the talents and services of this incomparable man than did Mr. Webster.

In a discussion which arose among some friends, at a social board, Mr. Webster was asked his opinion concerning the political and fiscal integrity of Franklin, a subject which had been agitated with some asperity.

"Gentlemen," answered Mr. Webster, "the topic is too broad for present discussion. Among all our political men, Franklin stands prominent for astuteness, sagacity and integrity. Amidst all his negotiations, though the depositary of innumerable state transactions, he was never known to betray the slightest secret, or to utter a hint from which a sinister revelation might occur. As to his fiscal integrity, who knew him better than Washington? And had the slightest blemish rested upon that portion of his character, would that exalted man have nominated him as the first President of the Union, and at the time when he himself was waited upon by authoized delegates to urge him to accept that vast trust! I want no other demonstration of the incorruptible principles of Franklin than that nomination by Washington."

HIS LETTER TO HIS OLD SCHOOLMASTER, "MASTER TAPPAN."

Boston, July 20, 1852.

Master Tappan:—I hear with much pleasure, through the public press, that you continue to enjoy

life, with mental faculties bright and vivid, although you have arrived at a very advanced age, and are somewhat infirm. I came to-day from the very spot, in which you taught me; and, to me, a most delightful spot it is. The river and the hills are as beautiful as ever. But the graves of my father and mother, and brothers and sisters, and early friends, give it, to me, something of the appearance of a City of the Dead. But let us not repine. You have lived long, and my life is already not short; and we have both much to be thankful for. Two or three persons are still living, who, like myself, were brought up *sub tua ferula.* They remember "Master Tappan."

And now, my good old master, receive a renewed tribute of affectionate regard, from your grateful pupil; with his wishes and prayers, for your happiness, in all that remains to you, of this life, and more especially, for your rich participation, hereafter, in the more durable riches of Righteousness.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

MR. WEBSTER AND THE FARMER.

Some years since, says a correspondent of the *New-York Daily Times*, Mr. Webster started off from Marshfield on a trouting expedition to Sandwich, a neighboring town on Cape Cod. On approaching a fine stream he alighted from his wagon, and just then he met the owner of the farm, whose stream ran through it. "Good morning," says Webster, "is there any trout here?" "Well," says the farmer,

"some people fish here, but I don't know what they do get." "I'll throw my line in," says Webster, "and see what there is."

Webster walked the banks of the stream trying his luck, and the old farmer followed him. Soon Webster remarked, "You have some bog on your farm." "Yes," says the farmer, "that ain't the worst of it." Fishing still further along, Webster says, "You seem to have plenty of mosquitoes here." "Yes," he replied, "that ain't the worst of it." Webster still kept on throwing his line into the deep pools, and then said, "You have plenty of briers here." "Yes," says the farmer, "and that ain't the worst of it." Mr Webster getting somewhat discouraged in a hot August day, bitten by mosquitoes, scratched by briers, and not raising a single fish, dropped his rod and said, "he didn't believe there was any trout here."—"And that ain't the worst of it," says the farmer. "Well," says Mr. Webster, "I would like to know *what the worst of it is?*" "*There never was any here!*" says the farmer. Mr. Webster enjoyed the joke, and often told it to his particular friends.

HIS RECREATIONS.

This taste for field sports, says a writer in the *Spirit of the Times*, Mr. Webster indulged to an extent that may be called passionate. With his private Secretary, Mr. Lanman, and his old friend Seaton, it was his wont to spend many hours almost

every day in the season, in the enjoyment of field sports. He was in the habit of getting up at 4 o'clock in the Summer morning, driving out to Georgetown, then taking in his Secretary and fellow sportsman, and, after passing a few hours angling in the Potomac, near the upper bridge, returning to the Capitol, and presenting himself at the Department, ready for business, at 10 o'clock.

Hon. J. Prescott Hall, U. S. Attorney for this District (himself a good Waltonian,) in announcing the death of Mr. Webster to the Bar of New-York remarked: "I have partaken of his innocent and manly amusements; I have walked with him alone at twilight, upon the shore of the far-resounding sea." His success at sea-fishing is proverbial, and there is scarcely a bay or an inlet within a day's sail or ride of Boston or Marshfield, that has not felt his line. Many members of the venerable "M. C. A." can bear testimony to his success in this, his private amusement.

Mr. Webster was a good trout killer, and delighted in this most refined of all the modes, "*salientes calamo aucere pisces.*" Apropos of this fact, we may quote a playful allusion of his in a dinner speech given to him in 1851, at Syracuse, in this State:

"It so happened," said he, "that all the public services which I have rendered, in my day and generation, have been connected with the General Government. I think I ought to make an exception. I was ten days a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and I turned my thoughts to the search for some good object, in which I could be useful, in that

position, and after much reflection, I introduced a bill which, with the general consent of both houses, passed into a law, and is now a law of the State, which enacts that *no man in the State shall catch trout, in any other manner than the old way*, with an ordinary hook and line."

A STAGE-COACH ANECDOTE.

Mr. Webster used to relate this as no one but himself could do:

A few years since, but before the great Northern Railroad passed through his farm, Mr. Webster was on his way to the old homestead; he took the stage at Concord, New Hampshire, and had for his companion a very old man. After some conversation, he ascertained that the old man was from the neighboring town of Salisbury, and asked him if he ever knew Captain Webster. "Surely, I did," said the old man; "and the Captain was a brave and good man, sir; and nobly did he fight for us, with General Stark, at Bennington." "Did he leave any children?" inquired Mr. Webster. "O, yes; there was Ezekiel, and I think, Daniel." "And what has become of them?" asked Mr. Webster. "Why, Ezekiel—and he was a powerful man, sir: I have heard him plead in court often. Yes, sir, he was a powerful man, and fell dead while pleading in Concord." "Well," said Mr. Webster, "and what became of Daniel?" "Daniel—Daniel," repeated the old man thoughtfully; "why, Daniel, I *believe*, is a lawyer about Boston somewhere."

MR. WEBSTER'S RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS.

A writer in the *Commercial Advertiser* remarks:

Some years ago we had the pleasure of spending several days in company with Mr. Webster at the residence of a mutual friend, Harvey Ely, Esq., at Rochester. During that intercourse, we had more than one opportunity of conversing on religious subjects—sometimes on doctrinal points, but more generally on the importance of the Holy Scriptures, as containing the plan of man's salvation, through the atonement of Christ. So far as our knowledge of the subject extends, Mr. Webster was as orthodox as any we ever conversed with.

On one occasion, when seated in the drawing-room with Mr. and Mrs. Ely, Mr. Webster laid his hand on a copy of the Scriptures, saying, with great emphasis, "This is the book!" This led to a conversation on the importance of the Scriptures, and the too frequent neglect of the study of the Bible by gentlemen of the legal profession, their pursuits in life leading them to the almost exclusive study of works having reference to their profession. Mr. Webster said, "I have read through the entire Bible many times. I now make a practice to go through it once a year. It is the book of all others for lawyers as well as for divines; and I pity the man that cannot find in it a rich supply of thought, and of rules for his conduct; it fits man for life—it prepares him for death."

The conversation then turned upon sudden deaths; and Mr. Webster adverted to the then recent death

of his brother, who expired suddenly at Concord, N. H. "My brother," he continued, "knew the importance of Bible truths. The Bible led him to prayer, and prayer was his communion with God. On the day on which he died, he was engaged in an important cause in the court then in session. But this cause, important as it was, did not keep him from his duty to his God; he found time for prayer, for on the desk which he had just left, was found a paper written by him on that day, which, for fervent piety, a devotedness to his Heavenly Master, and for expressions of humility, I think was never excelled."

Mr. Webster then mentioned the satisfaction he had derived from the preaching of certain clergymen, observing that "men were so constituted, that we could not all expect the same spiritual benefit under the ministry of the same clergymen." He regretted that there was not more harmony of feeling among professors generally, who believed in the great truths of our common Christianity. Difference of opinion, he admitted, was proper; but yet, with that difference, the main objects should be love to God—love to our fellow-creatures. In all Mr. Webster's conversations he maintained true catholicity of feeling.

MR. WEBSTER'S TABLE-TALK—STORY OF THE ROBBER.

"Mr. Webster," says a writer in the *Boston Atlas*, "was one of the best story-tellers in the world. He could relate an anecdote with wonderful effect, and nothing was more easy than for him to 'set the table

in a roar.' His fund of anecdote and of personal reminiscence was inexhaustible. No one could start a subject relating to history, and especially to American Congressional life, about which he could not relate some anecdote connected with some of the principal characters, which, when told, would throw additional light upon the narrative, and illustrate some prominent trait in the characters of the persons engaged in the transaction. This great gift he possessed in a degree unsurpassed. Mr. Webster's 'table-talk' was fully equal to any of his more elaborate efforts in the Senate. He could talk, to use a somewhat misnomeric expression, as well as he could speak. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, and loved and appreciated nice touches of eccentric humor. We have many reminiscences of his story-telling, for, when at Washington, we often had the pleasure of dining at his table. On these occasions it was the purpose of those present to draw him out; and to do this, it was but necessary to start some topic in which he felt an interest. We shall never forget his account of his visit to Jefferson, at Monticello, his analysis of the character and intellectual attainments of Hamilton, who he thought bore a closer resemblance to the younger Pitt than any other man in English or American history, and his anecdotes of Chief Justice Marshall, and old Mr. Stockton, of New Jersey; and of his ride from Baltimore to Washington in a wagon, with a stout, burly fellow, who told him he was a robber."

Another journal, the *Evening Post*, supplies this anecdote of the robber in full:—

"The incident to which the *Atlas* alludes, we believe occurred to Mr. Webster, before railroads were built, as he was forced one night to make a journey by private conveyance from Baltimore to Washington. The man who drove the wagon was such an ill-looking fellow, and told so many stories of robberies and murders that, before they had gone far, Mr. Webster was almost frightened out of his wits. At last the wagon stopped, in the midst of a dense wood, when the man, turning suddenly round to his passenger, exclaimed fiercely, 'Now, sir, tell me who you are?' Mr. Webster replied, in a faltering voice, and ready to spring from the vehicle, 'I am Daniel Webster, member of Congress from Massachusetts!" 'What,' rejoined the driver, grasping him warmly by the hand, 'are you Webster? Thank God! thank God! You were such a deuced ugly chap, that I took you for some cut-throat or highwayman.' This is the substance of the story, but the precise words used by Mr. Webster himself, in repeating it, we cannot recall."

MR. WEBSTER'S DEVOTIONAL SPIRIT.

It was our fortune, writes the editor of the *Boston Atlas*, to pass several days at his home in Marshfield, some six or seven years ago; and well we remember one beautiful night, when the heavens seemed to be studded with countless myriads of stars, that, about nine o'clock in the evening, we walked out, and he stood beneath the beautiful weeping elm which

raises its majestic form within a few paces of his dwelling, and, looking up through the leafy branches, he appeared for several minutes to be wrapped in deep thought, and, at length, as if the scene, so soft and so beautiful, had suggested the lines, he quoted certain verses of the eighth Psalm, beginning with the words: "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers; the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained; what is man, that thou are mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor," &c. The deep, low tone in which he repeated these inspired words, and the deep, rapt attention with which he gazed up through the branches of the elm, struck us with a feeling of greater awe and solemnity than we ever felt, when, a year or two later, we visited some of the most magnificent cathedrals of the Old World, venerable with the ivy of centuries, and mellowed with the glories of a daily church service for a thousand years.

We remained out beneath the tree for an hour, and all the time he conversed about the Scriptures, which no man has studied with greater attention, and of which no man whom we ever saw knew so much, or appeared to understand and appreciate so well. He talked of the books of the Old Testament especially, and dwelt with unaffected pleasure upon Isaiah, the Psalms, and especially the Book of Job. The Book of Job, he said, taken as a mere work of literary genius, was one of the most wonderful productions of any age, or in any language. As an epic

poem, he deemed it far superior to either the Iliad or Odyssey. The two last, he said, received much of their attraction from the mere narration of warlike deeds, and from the perilous escape of the chief personages from death and slaughter; but the Book of Job was a purely intellectual narrative. Its power was shown in the dialogue of the characters introduced. The story was simple in its construction, and there was little in it to excite the imagination or arouse the sympathy. It was purely an intellectual production, and depended upon the power of the dialogue, and not upon the interest of the story, to produce its effects. This was considering it merely as an intellectual work. He read it through very often, and always with renewed delight. In his judgment, it was the greatest epic ever written.

We well remember his quotation of some of the verses in the thirty-eighth chapter:—"Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, and said, Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge? Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me. Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding," &c. Mr. Webster was a fine reader, and his recitation of particular passages, to which he felt warm, were never surpassed; and were capable of giving the most exquisite delight to those who could appreciate them.

TWENTY-FOURTH OF OCTOBER, 1852. BY T. W. PARSONS, JUN.

Comes there a frigate home? What mighty bark
Returns with torn, but still triumphant sails?
Such peals awake the wondering Sabbath: hark!
How the dread echoes die among the vales.

What ails the morning, that the misty sun
Looks wan and troubled in the autumn air,
Dark over Marshfield? 'Twas the minute gun:
God! has it come that we foreboded there?
&
The woods at midnight heard an angel's tread,
The sere leaves rustled in his withering breath;
The night was beautiful with stars: we said,
"This is the harvest moon." 'Twas thine, O Death.

Gone, then, the splendor of October's day!
A single night, without the aid of frost,
Has turned the gold and crimson into gray,
And the year's glory with the world's is lost.

A little while, and we rode forth to greet
His coming with glad music; and his eye
Drew many captives, as along the street
His peaceful triumph passed, unquestioned by.

Now there are moanings by the desolate shore,
That are not ocean's. By the patriot's bed
Hearts throb for him whose noble heart no more—

Break off the rhyme; for sorrow cannot stop
To trim itself with phrases for the ear.
Too fast the tears upon the paper drop;

Fast as the leaves are falling on his bier;
Thick as the hopes that clustered round his name,
While yet he walked with us, a pilgrim here.

He was our prophet—our majestic oak,
That like Dodona's, in Thesprotian land,
Whose leaves were oracles, divinely spoke.

He was our Daniel. 'Mid the roar of men,
He in the stormy senate stood serene,
Like his great namesake in the lion's den.

We called him giant, for in every part
He seemed colossal; in his port and speech,
In his large brain, and in his larger heart.

And when upon the roll his name we saw,
Of those who govern, then we felt secure;
Because we knew his reverence for the law.

So the young master of the Roman realm
Discreetly thought, we cannot go astray,
Not far astray, with Ulpian at the helm.

But slowly to this loss our sense awakes,
To know what space it in the forum filled:
See what a gap the temple's ruin makes!

Kings have their dynasties, but not the mind;
Cæsar leaves other Cæsars to succeed;
But wisdom, dying, leaves no heir behind.

Who now shall stand the regent at the wheel?
Who knows the dread machinery? Who hath skill
Our course through oceans unsurveyed to feel?

Her mournful tidings Albion lately sent
How he, the victor in so many fields,
Fell, without fighting, in the fields of Kent;

The chief whose conduct in the lofty scene
Where England stood up for the world in arms,
Gave her victorious name to England's queen.

But peaceful Britain knows, amid her grief,
She could well spare the soldier and his sword:
What can OUR councils do without OUR chief?

Blest are the peace-makers! and he was ours,
Winning, by force of argument, the right
For kindred, rather than for rival powers.

Let us be thankful, if we kept aloof
From their calumnious ranks who slandered him,
Putting his fineness to their venom's proof.

It hurt him not; for, if his gold contained
Some specks of earth, it was not such as theirs,
But only human crystal that remained.

The richest stones, the most refined and pure,
Most need the lapidary's wisest hand.
Man, without error, make thy cutting sure!

The autumn rains are falling on his head;
The snows of winter soon shall be his shroud;
And spring with violets will adorn his bed;

And summer shall be joyful on the shore
Where he is sleeping: but the breath of spring,
Or summer sunshine will not wake him more.

Resume the rhyme, and end the funeral strain.
Dying he asked for song; he did not slight
The harmony of numbers; let the main
Sing round his grave great anthems day and night.

Not with vain hope to hang upon his hearse
A little, selfish trophy of our own,
We give to grief this tributary verse,
But simply to record the nation's moan.

We have no high cathedral for his rest,
Dim with proud banners and the dust of years:
All we can give him is New England's breast
To lay his head on, and ten thousand tears.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S LAST HOURS.

The telegraphic reports present the most vivid narrative of these closing incidents, and may preserve for other generations something of that feeling of interest and anxiety with which the United States of 1852, hour by hour, listened to this dying intelligence.

BOSTON, October, 23.

A messenger left Marshfield at 6½ o'clock this morning. Mr. Webster passed the night quietly; sleeping at times. He was not quite so well this morning, and is slowly sinking.

MARSHFIELD, Saturday, October 28—7 P. M.

Mr. Webster's physicians have given out the following bulletin:—

"Mr. Webster has failed during the night, and is quite low and exhausted this morning.

BOSTON, 12½ P. M.

A messenger just arrived from Marshfield informs the *Courier* that Mr. Webster, in the opinion of his physicians, cannot live an hour.

The following is an account of the state of Mr. Webster during the night:

At 11 o'clock he was again seized with vomitings, though at the time they were slight. Between one and two o'clock this morning he was again attacked, and for three-quarters of an hour suffered terribly. From that time to the date of our writing this, half-

past eight o'clock, he remained free from pain, and in a placid state. His mind is still as clear and bright as the sun now rising.

During all the time for ten hours past, when he was free from pain, he conversed cheerfully with the friends around his bedside, and more than once playfully reproached his faithful nurse, Sarah, for not retiring to bed.

Mr. Webster is fully conscious of his condition, as is evidenced from the fond consolations he is constantly addressing to his mourning family and friends.

Occasionally, in the presence of those not his relatives, he speaks on public matters with a calmness and interest which clearly show that the welfare of his country is as present and dear to him as ever.

The illustrious invalid is now asleep, but fears of further terrible suffering on his part are entertained by his friends should he be again seized with vomiting on waking.

MARSHFIELD, 12 M., Saturday.

Mr. Webster still continues to sink. Shortly after 6 o'clock this morning he had further attacks of vomiting, which are gradually wearing away his strength. He may live through the day, but it is thought cannot survive through the night Messages have just been dispatched for Dr. J. M. Warren, of Boston, requesting him to come down in the afternoon train. Just as this express starts, the following, from his physician, has been put into my hands:—

"MARSHFIELD, 12 M.

"Mr. Webster is gradually sinking; it is thought

he will not survive more than twenty-four hours, if so long. His frame of mind is that of entire tranquillity and happiness. He attends to all necessary business, and his mind maintains its usual attention to all subjects and persons."

MARSHFIELD, 2 P.M.

Mr. Webster continues to sink. His mental faculties seem unclouded and brilliant as ever. He occasionally speaks to his family, contemplates death calmly, and is perfectly resigned. His physicians think he will expire during the night.

BOSTON, Oct. 24th, 2 A.M.

An express messenger has just arrived, having left Marshfield at 10 o'clock last night, at which time Mr. Webster was not expected to survive more than an hour.

Dr. James Jackson left the patient at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

During the early part of the afternoon there was some decrease in the swelling of Mr. Webster's abdomen, and fewer symptoms of nausea, but there were no signs of rallying.

Repeatedly in the course of the forenoon, and in the early part of the afternoon, he conversed freely, and with great coolness of detail, in relation to his private affairs and the condition of his farms, stating his plans fully, and the manner in which he wished to have them carried out.

About half-past five o'clock, Mr. Webster was again seized with a violent nausea, and raised con-

siderable dark matter, tinged with blood. Exhaustion now increased rapidly, and his physicians held another consultation, which resulted in a conclusion that his last hour was fast approaching.

He received the announcement, and requested that the female members of his family might be called in; viz., Mrs. Webster, Mrs. Fletcher Webster, Mrs. J. W. Paige, and Miss Downs, of New-York. To each, calling them individually by name, he addressed a few words of farewell and religious consolation.

Next he had called in the male members of his family, and the personal friends who have been here within the last few days, viz., Fletcher Webster (his only surviving son), Samuel A. Appleton (his son-in-law), J. W. Paige, George T. Curtis, Edward Curtis, of New-York, Peter Harvey and Charles Henry Thomas, of Marshfield, and Messrs. George J. Abbott and W. C. Zantzinger, both of the State Department at Washington. Addressing each by name, he referred to his past relations with them respectively, and, one by one, bade them an affectionate farewell. This was about half-past six.

He now had Mr. Peter Harvey called in again, and said to him—"Harvey, I am not so sick but that I know you—I am well enough to know you. I am well enough to love you, and well enough to call down the richest of Heaven's blessings upon you and yours. Harvey, don't leave me till I am dead—don't leave Marshfield till I am a dead man." Then, as if speaking to himself, he said—"On the 24th of Oc-

tober, all that is mortal of Daniel Webster will be no more."

He now prayed in his natural usual voice—strong, full and clear, ending with "Heavenly Father, forgive my sins, and receive me to thyself, through Christ Jesus."

At half-past seven o'clock Dr. J. M. Warren arrived from Boston, to relieve Dr. Jeffries as the immediate medical attendant.

Shortly after he conversed with Dr. Jeffries, who said he could do nothing more for him than to administer occasionally a sedative potion. "Then," said Mr. Webster, "I am to lie patiently to the end; if it be so, may it come soon."

At 10 o'clock he was still lower, but perfectly conscious of everything that passed within his sight or hearing.

BOSTON, October 24, 1852—9 A.M.

Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, died at his mansion at Marshfield, twenty-two minutes before three o'clock this morning. His last hour was entirely calm, and he breathed his last so peacefully, that it was with difficulty the precise moment of his departure was perceived.

DEATH.

The *Boston Courier* contained the following particulars relative to Mr. Webster's death and burial:

The last hours of one so beloved as he whose

earthly career has just closed amid so many circumstances of consolation, were of the same even tenor as all the rest. The public are already informed of the chief features of that deeply interesting scene up to the period when Mr. Webster desired to take leave of all who were in the house. One by one, in deep sorrow, but sustained by his own great example, the members of his family, and the friends and attendants, came in and took leave of him. He desired them to remain near his room, and more than once enjoined on those present who were not of his immediate family, not to leave Marshfield till his death had taken place. Reassured by all that his every wish would be religiously regarded, he then addressed himself to his physicians, making minute inquiries as to his own condition, and the probable termination of his life. Conversing with great exactness, he seemed to be anxious to be able to mark to himself the final period of his dissolution. He was answered, that it might occur in one, two, or three hours, but that the time could not be definitely calculated. "Then," said Mr. Webster, "I suppose I must lie here quietly till it comes." The retching and vomiting now recurred. Dr. Jeffries offered to Mr. Webster something which he hoped might give him ease. "Something more, Doctor, more—I want restoration."

Between 10 and 11 o'clock, he repeated somewhat indistinctly the words "Poet, poetry, Gray, Gray." Mr. Fletcher Webster repeated the first line of the elegy,—

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day."

"That's it, that's it," said Mr. Webster, and the book was brought, and some stanzas read to him, which seemed to give him pleasure.

From 12 o'clock till 2, there was much restlessness, but not much suffering. The physicians were quite confident that there was no actual pain. A faintness occurred, which led him to think that his death was at hand. While in this condition, some expressions fell from him, indicating the hope that his mind would remain to him completely until the last. He spoke of the process of the difficulty of dying, when Dr. Jeffries repeated the verse,—

"Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me."

Mr. Webster said immediately, "The fact, the fact. That is what I want—Thy rod, Thy rod—Thy staff, Thy staff."

His dying words were, "I STILL LIVE."

THE MEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

At a dinner party in Boston, Dr. Charles narrates in his Funeral Discourse, at Newport, on Webster:

Mr. Webster stated that he had been reading "Burton's Diary," and that it was a mine of great value. "There you get the true calibre of the Roundheads; their speeches in Parliament were really wonderful productions, and I am satisfied that their discussions about religion, were mainly in view

of the great civil consequences involved. The men of that day were richly furnished; look at Cowley, Evelyn, and Clarendon, on one side, and Elliot, Sydney, Milton, Harrington, and Marvel on the other. These men all breathed in gardens, and kept up their humanity by meditations amidst the tranquillity of nature. Cromwell and Hampden were *the men.* Cromwell was a statesman every inch. Hampden is a man of whom I want to know more than Lord Nugent has told us; I want to know how he talked and lived every day down in the country. A proper history or biography is the story of a life; mere public facts do not make a biography. I want to know not only what a man did, but the way in which he did it, when it sprang up in his heart to do it. I want to know all about the days of adversity or sunshine in which he was schooled, I want to know about the boy as well as the man. Facts, naked facts, are not history, they are but the oil and brushes; and when you have them, an artist must come along to work you up an historical picture."

A CONVERSATION ON ENGLAND.

I think, says Dr. Charles, in the Discourse just quoted, the sentiments embodied in a conversation which I had with Mr. Webster, at Washington, previous to my visit to Europe in 1851, are worthy of record. "Well, sir, I notice from your letter for Passports, that you take three of your pupils. I am glad that they are going. You will teach them things

abroad which will be useful to them when they return. Show them the great farms, the noble stock, let them see the rural life of England, and learn to love it. We want to have more love for the country. We want more beauty thrown around our houses, and the lads will come home with better taste. Try to cultivate their memories as to the localities of England. Let them never forget the places sacred to liberty. The Tower is a perfect study, it requires thought, it is no place to be dispatched in a hurried visit. It is history, sir. Westminster Abbey is a wonderful place, not only for what it is, but for what it is not. Smithfield, too, is full of glory. If ever Jacob's ladder rested upon earth, it was there, where bloody Mary made it the gate to heaven for so many martyrs. Bunhill Fields; I was too good a Puritan not to go there. I wanted to stand where Bunyan, Owen, Goodwin and Defoe were buried. I should like to stand at the graves of all the great men of England. This journey will do the lads great good; it will furnish them matter for thought in future life, and if they improve this opportunity, it will teach them what few so understand, how to grow old decently. An ignorant, uncultivated old man is a poor affair; the tailor can pad out his wasted form, but nothing except early acquirements and good sentiments can make fine old age. You will see 'the Duke,' sir, he is the most remarkable man in the country; so practical, such sterling sense, so self-reliant; a man is nothing, nothing, who does not depend upon himself. I shall give you letters, sir, addressed to men I value highly, who are ornaments

to our nature. Pray make the lads notice the attention paid in England to age and position; nowhere can the proprieties of life be learned so well. What a destiny lies before these two countries, England and the United States; the same language, laws, and religion. Did you ever think of the wonderful concealment of America from Europe, till 'the set time' had arrived for its revelation?"

MR. WEBSTER'S BRIEFS.

In the biographical sketch of Mr. Webster, with which these volumes open, brief reference is made to the degree and method of Mr. Webster's preparation for his public speeches. The impression has been current that his great speeches were quite unstudied; and several of his biographers, including Mr. Everett, have taken no inconsiderable pains to create the belief that his Reply to Hayne was in the main an *extempore* performance. All such representations seem to us not simply without foundation, but likely to be productive of mischievous influence upon the minds of students, with whom the example of so consummate a master as Mr. Webster cannot fail to be more weighty than the lessons of all the schools. Mr. Webster was always a laborious student, and in the early part of his professional and public career, he expended upon all his public addresses the utmost care. He happened to be dining with a company of friends a few years since, when the first message of an eminent public man, then Governor of the State of New-York, was issued and became the subject of conversation. "Governor W—" said Mr. Webster, on being appealed to for his opinion, "is a very able man and a very able writer:—the only thing he needs to learn is how to *scratch out*." A Senator of the United States present expressed some surprise at this remark, and said that no one who read Mr. Webster's addresses, or listened to his speeches, would suppose

that he ever had occasion to alter or amend any thing that came from his pen. "However that may be now," replied Mr. Webster, "a very large part of my life has been spent in 'scratching out;' when I was a young man, and for some years after I had acquired a respectable degree of eminence in my profession, my style was bombastic and pompous in the extreme. Some kind friend was good enough to point out that fact to me, and I determined to correct it, if labor could do it. Whether it has been corrected or not, no small part of my life has been spent in the attempt." This careful preparation to which Mr. Webster thus resorted in early life, from a conviction of its necessity, soon became a fixed habit, and was never abandoned. He seldom made a public speech, however temporary the interest of the occasion might seem, which he had not previously studied with laborious care. Sometimes he wrote it out, very fully; but his usual method was to prepare a careful and complete outline of the argument he wished to present, and to write out in the exact language he wished to use any portions which he desired to make especially forcible or impressive. Under the excitement of speaking he would often vary the phraseology of such passages,—infusing into them more energy and life than his pen had given them originally, and adapting them oftentimes to incidents that were passing before him. This was undoubtedly the character of the preparation he had made for his Reply to Hayne. Although he rose to speak as soon as Hayne sat down, the whole subject had been under discussion in the Senate for weeks, and nearly every point made by Col. Hayne had been previously presented by Col. Benton or some of the others who had participated in the debate upon the same side. Mr. Webster had been preparing to take part in the discussion from the beginning. The question of constitutional power involved had been his special

study for years, and upon that branch of the subject he had little more to do than to present the conclusions he had formed, and the process of argument by which he had reached them. The personal attacks of Col. Hayne were made mainly in the opening part of his speech, which was made on Thursday,—the remainder being adjourned over to the succeeding Monday; so that upon these points Mr. Webster had time to elaborate the unrivalled retorts by which they were repelled. And the declamatory passages,—those sentences of fervid eloquence, unsurpassed in our language for their stately, dignified, and impassioned rhetoric,—had been framed laboriously in the forge of his creative intellect, while studying the speech he intended to make upon the general topic. Mr. Everett in his life of Mr. Webster affects to sneer at the intimation that he could thus utter pathos, indignation, and patriotism, a week old; but the sneer will scarcely alter the fact, nor does the fact in the least degree derogate from the intellectual and oratorical supremacy of Mr. Webster. On the contrary, it simply shows that he belonged to that race of Orators of which Demosthenes, Burke, Massillon, Choate, and Everett himself are the great exemplars, and that he, too, resorted to the same methods of intellectual labor, by which they have commanded the admiration and applause of successive generations of the race.

No study could be more interesting and instructive than that of the process of a great mind, like Mr. Webster's, in the construction of a great speech. The writer of this note happens to be in possession of material that could not fail to be useful in such a study, much of which, however, cannot here be used. He chanced to be at Washington in the winter of 1848, and hearing that Mr. Webster was to argue a legal case in the Supreme Court he very naturally went to hear him. It proved to be a

case growing out of the famous Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island, and involved the legal merits of that proceeding. Mr. Webster came up to the bench on which he had taken his seat, and after some general conversation spoke of the interest and importance of the case, and expressed a wish that he would prepare a report of the argument he intended to make. Knowing nothing whatever of the short-hand art,—but being fond of reporting Mr. Webster as a valuable method of critically studying his style, and having succeeded on former occasions in satisfying Mr. Webster's taste in the reports of his speeches,—and no man was ever more fastidious,—he readily acceded to the request, took notes, wrote out the speech, and early the next morning read it over to Mr. Webster in his private study. Mr. Webster made very few alterations in the language, and none at all in the structure of the sentences: but each was examined and discussed with the most careful criticism, and the fitness and import of every word were weighed with as deliberate labor as any University student ever expended upon his theme. In two or three cases the reporter had substituted a word for the one which Mr. Webster had chanced to use,—*hither* for *here*, in one instance, which is specially recollected. Not one such case escaped Mr. Webster's notice; he detected the variation instantly, and at once began to consider which was the best. Quotations were verified, punctuation carefully done, and the literary character of the speech was quite as critically attended to as its legal argument had been. And this was merely one of his professional performances,—an argument in Court upon a legal question.

After the revision of the speech had been finished the writer asked, and promptly received, permission to retain the brief from which Mr. Webster had spoken:—and it is now appended to this notice, as a curious and valuable

guide in studying the process by which Mr. Webster prepared his addresses. The speech itself will be found in Vol. V. of the Writings of Mr. Webster, edited by Mr. Everett,—where it makes scarcely twice as much, in its complete form, as in this outline of notes which he used in speaking:—his abbreviations and marks are retained sc far as possible.

PRELIMINARY.

There is something novel and extraordinary, in Judicial proceedings, in the aspect of this cause.

In '41 and '42 agitation existed in R. I.—conflicting parties were formed—each party claimed the authority of Gov't—resort was had 'to arms'—force was used—and it seemed at one moment, that the parties were on the "perilous edge of battle." In June and July '42 the tumult subsided, without bloodshed. Gov't resumed its ordinary course, and the State its accustomed quiet.

But past disturbances were to be looked into—Grand Juries found Bills. Among the rest an Indictment was found v. Mr. Dorr, who had asserted a claim to be considered as Gov'r—had presumed to act as such—and had manifested an intention to sustain his Gubernatorial character by force of arms. On this Indictment, he was tried by a Court, now admitted on all sides to have been a Constitutional and competent Court, and a R. I. Jury, impannelled according to law, and standing above all challenge.

Mr. Dorr was convicted of treason, by this competent Court, and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

Now, an action is brought in Court of U. S. and here by appeal, in which the attempt is to prove, that Mr. Dorr was no traitor, nor insurrectionist; but the real Gov'r of the State at the time. That the force used by him was exercised in defence of the Constitution and Laws, not against them; that the treasonable force was really on the other side; and that the Supreme Court of R. I. made rather an important mistake. Gov'r King, if any body, should have been tried for treason, and Mr. Dorr

regarded as the Defender of the Constitution and Laws.—Certainly, this is a considerable mistake! quite a wrong casting of character!—King Lear.

This gives vivacity to the dulness of Judicature!

It enlivens the drudgery of perusing Briefs, Demurrers, and Pleas in Bar, Bills in Equity and answers.

"Handy-dandy."

Change places—handy-dandy—"which is the Justice and which is the thief," which is the Gov. and which the rebel?

This discussion not to be regretted.

American Liberty has an Ancestry, a Pedigree, a History.

The Settlers of Plym. and Jamestown were Englishmen; leaving oppression and misrule, but bringing all the buds, and blossoms, and fruits of civil and religious Liberty, at that time to be had.

Hab Cor: trial by jury.—Forms of Gov. were to be *new*.

They had close and controlling colonial feelings, but they had also English feelings; learning, tastes, literature, and prejudices.

They suffered by the tyranny of James the Second; and took a lively interest in the Revo of 1688—Mass—

With the Decla of Independence, they departed from the political maxims and example of England, and pursued a course more exclusively American.

They adapted their conduct to their new condition, and framed systems accordingly, changing what needed change, and leaving the rest.

The Govts had all now become entirely popular.

There was no longer any allegiance to the Crown.

Constitutions were to be formed, conformable to this new state of things.

Where the form of Govt was already well enough, they let it alone; where necessary they reformed it.

Every where, and in all things, they acted in a true *conservative* spirit.

Whatever was valuable they retained; whatever else was essential, they added, and no more.

AMERICAN PRINCIPLES.

1.—The People are the source of all political power; Govt is instituted for their good; and its members are their agents and servants. The people exercise their power by regulated suffrage.

☞ Nobody denies this, and therefore nobody need argue it.

When counsel insists on this, they insist on what no one doubts.

Where else can there be power, in such a country as this?

Why make a merit, of maintaining what no man denies?

—no crown—no Lords—

2.—As the people cannot, in a mass, exercise political power, they establish Govts; conferring on them so much authority as they please. People only act, by suffrage, and Representation——both to be carefully secured.

In a general sense the Sovereignty is with the People; but the organized, acting Sovereignty, to the extent the people claim, is in their Govts.

Legislation is a sovereign power; it is not exercised by the People directly, but intrusted by them to their own Govts created by themselves.——

Chief Justice Jay's paradox "Subjects & Citizens."

A State. Judge Durfee.

The People limit their Govts, in all their branches; and they occasionally limit themselves: as in cases of not alt'g constitution without 2/3rds.

That is, they impose restraints, on sudden impulses of mere majorities.

Constitution U. S. Art. 5, mode of Amendment. Mr. Whipple's Statement—4 vs 16 millions

—again the Senate—The treaty-making power.

☞ —power in impeachments. Confederation 9 States necessary.

3.—Having thus established Constitutions, according to their own pleasure, and established Departments, they carry on the Govt. by Representation.

This is a great, the great, distinctive character, of Ame-

rican Liberty. It differs from every thing, that has gone before it.

Difference between our principle of representation and that of England, in its origin.

4.—The right of Representation is to be strictly secured and guarded; as it is the main political right of every man.

Here, again, the People limit themselves.

1. In the qualification of the persons to be elected; in regard to age, residence, and property.
2. The qualification of voters in the same respects.

Every where, there are some qualifications, of electors and elected.

This Election of Reps. is regulated, by laws previously passed. Elections are to be at stated times, in fixed places, conducted by sworn officers of the Law, in forms prescribed, viva voce, or by ballot; and these officers are bound to prevent all fraudulent practices, to receive the votes of all legal Electors, and of none others. This is the American System. This is our mode of ascertaining the will of the People, and there is no other.

Hitherto, it has worked admirably. Maine and Louisiana act together.

☞ = 20 millions of People.

If any thing has stood for the public will, not thus ascertained, the case is an anomaly.

At the Revolution, Legislative bodies assembled, irregularly, from necessity; as in England in 1688.

Men cannot get together—count themselves—say they are hundreds or thousands—judge of their own qualifications, call themselves the *People*—and then proclaim alterations of the fundamental law, or any other law.

I do not so understand the *American* Principle.

This regular action, by popular representation, unites liberty with order. To strength it adds security.

Flowing in this regular channel, the public will is at once, irresistible and calm.

Sir John Denman.

Who would wish this to be otherwise?

Who wishes a tempestuous, stormy, violent liberty, without power, except in its spasms; tumultuary, mobocratic, terrifying the timid, and alarming the prudent: A South American Liberty; supported by arms, to-day: crushed by arms to-morrow.

5.—There is another principle of American Liberty, of the highest importance, and directly applicable to this case.

When, in the course of events, it becomes necessary to ascertain the will of the People, on a new exigency, or a new state of things, or of opinion, the Legislative power provides for that ascertainment, by an act of Legislative power.

Cons. of U. S. Act of old Congress. Laws of the States, in calling conventions.

This is the uniform mode, in proposing changes of Govt. as in other cases.

Wisconsin—Iowa—Michigan—Maine.

The old Constitutions have been so changed.

The old Thirteen.—None but N. H. had a provision for change.

What State has ever changed its Constitution but in this way?

There must be some authentic mode of ascertaining the Will of the People.

Else, all is anarchy.

The existing Legislature only can prescribe that mode.

All this proves no affinity of our System with the Doctrines of the HOLY ALLIANCE.

State the DIFFERENCE.

N. York Act of 1845 exemplifying the whole.

Bear'ng of Con. U. S. on this.—To ensure Domestic tranquil'y.—U. S. shall guarantee to the States Rep. form Govt.

Art. 4, § 4.

Act of Feb. 28, 1795.

1 vol. S. at L. p. 424.
ch. 36.

This means of course, insurrection ag't an *exist'ng Govt. A new Govt. cannot displace the old, by force, or insurrection.*

The Exist'g Govt. is the Govt. which U. S. must protect. It is said, that these two things together, *tie up the hands of the People.*

If the existing Legislature will not begin reform, and if Congress must take the side of the existing Govt. then people can never reform their Govt.

It would be just the same thing, and is just the same thing, if reform begins out of doors, with mobs and multitudes.

If the existing Govt. held on, and resist, Congress is bound to protect it against force.

But how does this R. I. mode of proceeding help the matter. If the existing Govt. does not yield, U. S. must support it.

Luther v. Borden et als.

Pleadings, Writ, Oct. 8, '42

Decl'n that Def'dts broke and entered Plf. house, in Warren, R. I., on the 25th of June, 1842, and disturbed his family, &c.

Pleas 1 Filed Nov. 1, '42.

That large numbers of men were in arms, for the purpose of overthrowing the Govt. of the State; and made war upon the States.

That for the preservation of the State, the Gov. and the people, martial law was declared by competent authority, on the 25th of June, '42.

That the Pf. was aiding and abetting, in the attempt to overthrow the Govt.

That Defdts. were under the military authority of John T. Child, a regularly appointed military officer, and ordered to take and arrest the Pf.; for which purpose they forced the door of his house, having first been refused admittance.

2. I see no material difference between 1 and 2.
3. The third Plea sets forth the act declaring martial law, declaring it to have been passed by a regularly chosen and constitutional

Legislature, and and then as the 1 and 2.

4. The 4th Plea is general non cul.

Replications. De sua propria injuria, and without such cause.

Proofs; offered in Nov. 1843.

Defdt. offered in evidence; viz.

I. The original charter of R. I., its acceptance, &c.; and its continuance and the existence of a regular Govt. under it, until 1776.

The participation of R. I. in Dec. of Ind., 1776.

Joined the Confederacy, in 1778.

Admitted into the Union, in May, 1790; and has ever since been received and recognized as one of the States of the Union; and that the Govt. under the Charter continued, until adoption of her present Constitution, in Nov. 1842.

II. Resolutions of the Legislature, and proceedings under them, beginning in Jan. '41, for obtaining amendments of the Constitution; amendments proposed, submitted to the People in March, '42, but rejected; Plf. and his confederates voting against them.

III. All the laws, resolutions, and proceedings of the General Assembly under the Charter Govt. till the adoption of the previous Constitution.

IV. The plf., with a large No. of other men, were assembled in arms. June 24, '42 with intent to destroy the Govt. by military force.

V. The Act declaring martial law, and the Govt. Proclamation. June 25, '42.

VI. That the Def. was aiding and abetting the attempts to overthrow the Govt.

VII. That Defds. were members of the military force, under Child; and Child was ordered to arrest suspi-

VIII. cious persons; and that Child ordered Defts. to en-

IX. ter Plfs. house, if necessary, to take plf; and that

X. they did so; and that the town of Warren was

XI. then in danger of an attack.

And the Plf. to maintain the issue on his part, offered in evidence the following matters, facts, and things, viz:

1. Proceedings of Assembly in 1790. A.
2. Rept. of Comm. of H. of R. June 1829. B.
3. Resolutions of Genl. Assembly, Jan. '41. C.

4. Memorial of Elisha Dillingham et als. D.
5. That in '40 and '41, associations were formed, called "Suffrage Associations," to diffuse information on question of forming a written constitution; and, to prove this, offered testimony of officers and members, and a declaration of principles, February, '41; and proceedings of a meeting, April 13, '41; and witnesses to prove that a portion of the people assembled at Providence, April 17, '41, under a call from Suffrage Association; and to prove proceedings by chairman and members. E.
6. A mass convention, May 5, '41, of 4,000 and upwards, at Newport, when resolutions were passed. F.
7. That convention adjourned to July 5, '41, at Providence, when 6,000 assembled, 21 years old or upwards, free male inhabitants. Resolution marked G.
8. Resolution of the General Assembly, May, 1841–2; and bill presented, and proceedings thereon. H. a. H. b.
9. Minority report of committee, June, '41. I. a. I. b.
10. That State committee of mass convention notified the town to appoint delegates to a convention, to form a constitution. Ja. J. b.
11. Notice published.
12. Committee enlarged.
13. S. H. Wales and others present.
14. In Aug. '41, citizens of the State met, in the several towns, to choose delegates; offered chairman to prove Nos., ballots, &c.
15. Delegates met, Oct., '41; drafted a constitution, and submitted it to the people; and adjourned to Nov., '41; to be proved by minutes or records.
16. Delegates met again in Nov. '41; completed drafts, and submitted it to the people for adoption, &c. &c.
17. Meetings held, and proceedings offered to be proved by moderators, &c.
18. Convention met January 12, '42, and counted votes; and the citizens of the State found to have

ratified, &c.; and constitution pronounced to be law of the land; and proclamation to be made, &c.

19. Proclamation made, &c.
20. Constitution was adopted by a large majority of the male people of the State, 21 yrs. old, and qualified to vote under the constitution.
21. Copy of the constitution.
22. Officers elected under the new constitution, April, 1842.
23. New gov't assembled, May, '42; and copies of proceedings.
24. Copy of U. S. Census.
25. Certificate of No. votes, polled in the State, for 10 yrs.
26. Act of Assembly under charter gov't to provide for a convention, June, '42.

Rulings of the court, p. 20.

P. 20. Convention resolved the people's constitution was adopted, '42, Jan. 13. Proclamation, 144. On the 18 April elected officers.

22. And 3d of May, '42, Tuesday, organized, and the constitution then and there became the rightful constitution of the State.
112. Legislature met (Dorr) May 3d.
127. Adjourned on the 4th, to meet at Providence, 1st Monday in July.

☞ *And never word spake more.* They never reassembled.

☞ The present constitution was adopted Nov. 5, 1842, to go into operation 1st Tuesday in May, '43. Vide resolution of convention, and by the people, 21, 2 and 3 of Nov'r.

So that according to Def., from May, '42 to May, '43, no acting gov't.

Now Dorr's trial.

Thos. W. Door was indicted for treason, in Sup. Court of R. Island, and tried April 26, '44.

17. Indictments stated, p. 17.

18. Treason, May 17, '42, 1 ct.
" " 18, 2 cts.
" June 26, 3 cts.
" " 27,

Pleaded not guilty, submitting to jurisdiction.
Judge's charge—read as marked.

My points are now three.

1st. That the matters offered to be proved by def't in court below are not of judicial cognizance, and proof of them, therefore, was properly rejected by the court.

2. That if all were proved, they would amount to no defence, as they show nothing but an illegal attempt to change the government of R. Island.

3. That no proof was offered to show that in fact another government had been established and gone into operation, by which the charter gov't, as it has been called, had become displaced.

I. The matters alleged in defence, are not of judicial cognizance.

1. Deft. asserts a change of sovereignty; for to some extent the States are sovereign.
State that.
He offers to prove this, by parole, as a fact.
It cannot be so proved.

That is a matter which, if it be of general notoriety, the Court may possibly take notice of itself, but it is a matter in which the Court must look to the acts of the Government of the United States and their public proceedings.

The Executive Government in '42 recognized p. 12, the continuance of the old government.
The Senate and House.

2. From the nature of the case, the Court cannot settle such questions. For example,
Nos. 12, 14, 20.
This last the most important.
The Court was asked to try
1. How many persons voted for the new Constitution.
2. Whether they were all qualified voters.

3. Whether a majority of all qualified persons voted.

And this he offered to prove.

1. By production of votes and ballots.
2. By production of registers, which registers were made by no legal officers.
3. By testimony of witnesses.
4. To prove the new Constitution, not by official record but by parole.

Now these are things into which no Court can inquire—vide Judge Durfee.

5. The continuance of the old Government in full operation till the new legal Constitution went into effect in 1843, May, and the decision of R. I. itself by its Supreme Court in Mr. Dorr's case, precludes all inquiry into any such matter as Pltf. offered to prove.

II. Evidence offered only proved an illegal attempt to overturn the Govt.

1. It was ILLEGAL according to all American principle and precedent.—It attempted to subvert a Govt. by force.

All previous proceedings, mass meetings, committees, amounted to nothing, not having a regular origin; and the attempt was therefore nothing less than to take the Govt. by force.

It was an insurrection—just such as the Constitution of the United States and the laws denounce.

2. It has been declared illegal by R. Island; her Govt. has proclaimed it to be Rebellion. Her legislature has passed laws, punishing those concerned in any form, and some of them as for treason, and her highest Jud. Tribunal has tried sundry persons; found them guilty, punished some, and the rest have escaped under general pardon.

Can this Court receive acts in justification of Pltf. which have thus been stamped and marked as criminal by the proper judicial authority?

III. No proof that another Gov't. was established and went into operation.

Reason for making this point.

Recur again to May 3 and 4, 42–61, page 127. These new functionaries never exercised a single act of

power—they sued nobody—served no civil process—laid no tax—*confined themselves to paper*—and broke up May 4—admitting it was all a miserable *sham*.

I do not think it to be regretted, that the case has been brought here—however impossible for this Court to try the question.

It is truly said, the case calls for discussion of our American system of liberty.

It will bear discussion and improve by it.

It has been pretty well tried, and thus far escaped from dangers on both sides.—Scylla and Charybdis.

THE END.

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